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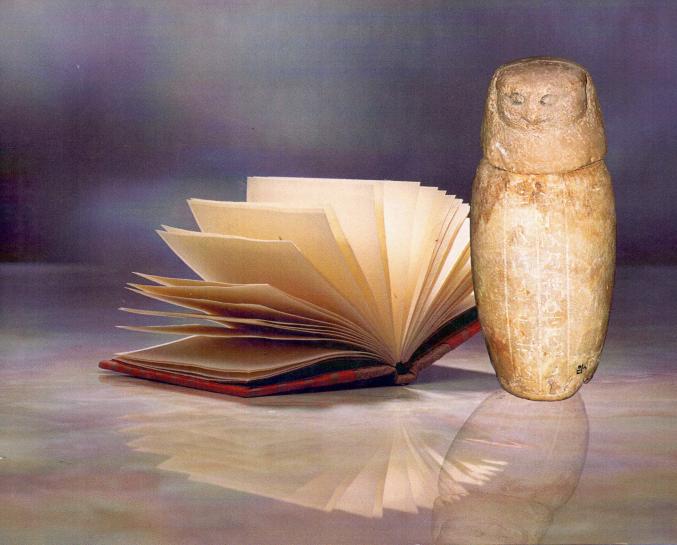
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Abgadiyat

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Advisory Board

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Guidelines for Contributors

Initial Submission for Refereeing

The manuscript must be submitted in three copies for refereeing purposes. The Journal of *Abgadiyat* follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with some modifications as cited below.

Final Submission

1- The final text (following amendments recommended by the editor or referees) must be provided on disk preferably CD, using MS Word, composed in 14 point font for Arabic and 12 point font for other languages.

2- The text should be in hard copy, printed clearly on A4 or standard American paper, on one side only, double-spaced throughout and with ample margins. Please do not justify the right-hand margin.

3- Please do not employ multiple typeface styles or sizes.

4 The Journal of *Abgadiyat* does not use titles such as Dr, or Prof. in text or notes or for authors.

5- Brackets should be all round-shaped, e.g. (……)

6- Use single quotation marks throughout. ‘ ’

7- Avoid Arabic diacriticals. Only use in quotes.

8- The numbers of dynasties must be spelled out, e.g. ‘Eighteenth Dynasty’ and not ‘18th Dynasty’ or ‘Dynasty 18’. Similarly, numbers of centuries should be spelled out, e.g. ‘fifth century BCE’, ‘second century CE’. BCE and CE should be in capitals.

9- The ‘_’ dash between dates, page references, etc. (1901/02, 133–210) is an en-dash not a hyphen.

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TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ARABIC WORDS

1- The initial hamza (ء) is not transcribed: amāna, ka-sura.

2- The article (al) should be connected with the word it determines through a hyphen, avoiding what is known in Arabic as ‘solar’ *al*, i.e. it should be written whether pronounced or not: *al-šams, al-qamar*.

3- No capital letter is given to the article (al) but the word it determines, except at the beginning of a sentence where the article also must have a capital letter: *al-Gabarti*.

4- Arabic diacritics are not transcribed: *laylat al qadr, and not laylatu l-qadri*.

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2- Footnote numbers should be placed above the line (superscript) following punctuation, without brackets.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- Cite subsequently as: Ray, *JEA 85*, 190.

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I. Mathieson, 'Magnetometer Surveys on Kiln Sites at Amarna', in B.J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, *EES Occasional Publications* 10 (London, 1995), 218-220.

- Cite subsequently as: Mathieson, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, 218-220.

A.B. Lloyd, 'The Late Period, 664-323 BC' in B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 279-346.

- Cite subsequently as: Lloyd, in Trigger, *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, 279-346.

Monographs

E. Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), 35-38.

- Cite subsequently as: Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 35-38.

D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein,* V. *Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab periods* (London, 1998), 140.

- Cite subsequently as: Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein*, V. 140.

Series publication

W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, *BSAE* 12 (London, 1906), 37, pl.38.A, no.26.

- Cite subsequently as: Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 37, pl. 38.A, no. 26.

Dissertations

Josef W. Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 45-55.

- Cite subsequently as: Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III,* 45-55.

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such as www.mfa.org/artemis/fullrecord.asp?oid=36525&did=200. might be more elegantly, if less directly, expressed textually: See, for example, acc. 19.162, illustrated at www.mfa.org/artemis. The http:// protocol may be omitted in citations to sources posted on the World Wide Web (e.g., www.mfa.org/giza, rather than http://www.mfa.org/giza); it should be retained in other instances (e.g., http://aaupnet.org; or http://w3.arizona.edu/~egypt/)

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CAPTIONS

For figures, appropriate credit should be provided, double-spaced, on a separate sheet, and in electronic form on the CD with the final version of the article.

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Introduction

During the past seven years, the *Abgadiyat* journal has appeared in order to bridge the existing gap in the fields of writings and scripts studies. This gap was not on the local level only, but as well on the regional level; wherein there was no practical or precise journal concerning the affairs of writings and scripts in the world across the ages. *Abgadiyat* carries the most important goals of the Center for Studies of Writings and Scripts, including the increase of the number of rare specialists among writings and inscriptions that need to be studied and to spreading the consciousness of writings and inscriptions on the level among the non-specialists.

It was planned that this issue appears on the occasion of the 11th International Congress of Egyptologists September 2014, unfortunately, the Congress has been annulled upon the decision of Ministry of Antiquities. We are greatly pleased, as an editorial team, that a number of researchers competing in publishing their papers within *Abgadiyat* journal. During the editing phases, we came across a number of papers from a wide range of disciplines.

Also among the fundamentals that *Abgadiyat* emphasizes is the support of young researchers to publish their research in the Journal. It is known to all that one of the goals of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is to encourage and support young researchers in all research and practical fields. Thus, the Journal has received papers from a number of young researchers, who hope to meet the criteria, after the peer-review.

The eighth issue of *Abgadiyat* overflows with a group of valuable papers, such as 'Unpublished Four Canopic Jars from Al-Ashmunein Magazine', 'Philological Development of Sdi.t', 'Hathor: Lady of Mefkat' in the Nile Delta Textual Evidences, 'On Ancient Egyptian Philology', and 'An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis'. It might be the most interesting of these papers that speaks about the inscription of King Djer in South Sinai as the first complete sentence written in hieroglyphs.

From here, we can state that this issue might present a serious, practical study to continue the path the Writing and Scripts Center had begun nine years ago.

Writing and Scripts Center
Bibliotheca Alexandrina

Unpublished Four Canopic Jars from Al-Ashmunein Magazine

أربعة أوانٍ كانوبية غير منشورة بالمخزن المتحفي في الأشمونين

Abdel-Rahman Ali Abdel-Rahman*

ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث نشر أربعة أوانٍ كانوبية من العصر المتأخر موجودة بالمخزن المتحفي في الأشمونين بمركز ملوي بمحافظة المنيا. ويبدأ البحث بوصف عام للأواني الكانوبية الأربعة، ثم يتناول كل إناء على حدة مع ترجمة للنص الموجود على الجزء الأمامي من الإناء، وهو عبارة عن سطرين هيروغليفيين رأسيين على كل إناء، كذلك شُكِّلت رأس كل إناء على هيئة أحد أبناء حورس الأربعة: 'إمستي'، و'حابي'، و'قبح سنو إف'، و'دوا موت إف'. كما قام الباحث بعمل فاكسميلي لكل نص موجود على أحد الأواني، مع وجود صور فوتوغرافية لكل إناء، واللافت للنظر أنه في كل نص لابد من قراءة السطر الثاني قبل السطر الأول؛ حتى يستقيم النص.

والأواني الكانوبية الأربعة من الألبستر وتحمل اسم *Nwb-ii.ti* لكن لا يحمل أيٌّ من النصوص إشارة إلى وظيفته أو أسرته، ثم تطرق البحث إلى تأريخ الأواني وفقًا لطبيعة ومميزات النص الموجود عليها، وهو عبارة عن صيغة انتشرت منذ الدولة الحديثة والعصر المتأخر.

The four Canopic jars published here were found by the police in year 1981, with some robbers in Maghagha, El-Minia Governorate. Then they were moved to Al-Ashmunein Magazine, and kept under the Inventory number 3204 and 516/1-4 in the Magazine's register book. The original location in where these jars were found is still unknown.

Each one of those jars bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic enclosed in a frame, with the traditional formula usually written on the Canopic jars since the Saite Period. This formula invocates the protection of the four protection goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Selqet and Neit.[1]

The direction of the inscription

The text on the body of each one of the four Canopic jars consists of two vertical lines of hieroglyphic text. It is noticeable that the second line is written before the first one, as that was known from the other traditional formula. To obtain the correct meaning, we must read the second line before the first one until the formula is completed. The occasion the Canopic jars of the Saite Period onwards. It is the first time, as to my knowledge, the text comes disarranged.

On the other four Canopic jars, the date of the late Libyan period came from Gurnah district at Thebes. We find five vertical lines on each jar arranged from right to left although the direction of the text runs from left to right.[2]

1. The first Canopic jar with a human headed lid

Inv. Nr: 516\1

Material: Alabaster

Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster Canopic jar with a human head as a symbol of *Ḳbḥ-snw.f* without beard bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame. The jar is polished outside, the cover is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes and mouth carefully cut in the stone.

(Fig. 1) The first Canopic jar with a human head lid.

1)

2)

2) *ḏd n Srḳt n kꜣ.k sḳd sꜣ ḥr rꜥ-nb ḥr mkt n Ḳbḥ-snw.f nty [im.i]*

1) *sꜣ Wsir Nwb-ii.ti mꜣꜥ ḫrw sꜣ ḳbḥ-snw.f Wsir Nwb-ii.ti mꜣꜥ ḫrw pw ḳbḥ-snw.f*

2) *Selqet spoke[a] for your ka, the protection[b] of every day is the protection of Ḳbḥ-snw.f who [is in me].[c]*

1) *the protection of Osiris Nwb-ii.ti the justified is the protection of Ḳbḥ-snw.f, Osiris Nwb-ii.ti the justified is Ḳbḥ-snw[d].f [e]*

Comment

a. Most of the Canopic jars formula from Twenty-Sixth Dynasty begins with ,[3] however the formula begins with either *sḏm.f* or *sḏm.n.f* form.[4]

b. The verb *sḳd* is just a written with the two signs , it is an incorrect writing of [5] and its variations.[6] The verb is a causative form of verb *ḳd* 'to fashion, to build', so *sḳd* means 'cause to fashion'.[7]

c. Adding [*im=i*] 'who is in me'.[8]

d. The name of *Ḳbḥ-snw.f* is a written error as instead of .[9]

e. It appears that the formula of the goddess Selqet has some errors. This appears when we compare between it and other formulas, finding on the other jars date to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty onward:[10]

N N .[11]

ḏd mdw in Srḳt n kꜣ.k sḳd.i sꜣ rꜥ-nb ḥr ir mkt n Ḳbḥ-snw.f nty im.i sꜣ Wsir N sꜣ Ḳbḥ-snw.f Wsir N pw Ḳbḥ-snw.f

Recitation by Selqet for your ka, I get the protection daily to make the protection of Ḳbḥ-snw.f who is in me, the protection of Osiris N is the protection of Ḳbḥ-snw.f, Osiris N is Ḳbḥ-snw.f.

K. Sethe studied the whole formulas on the Canopic jars from the Old Kingdom to Late Period, he classified them in types, the last type (XIX) is from the Saite Period.[12]

2. The second Canopic jar with a hawk headed lid

Inv. Nr: 516\2

Material: Alabaster

Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster jar with a hawk head bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame. The jar is polished outside; the cover is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes and mouth carefully cut in the stone. The text in both lines is damaged in some parts.

1)

2)

2) *ḏd (n) ꜣst smꜣ(.i) ḏꜣit stp-sꜣ ḥr Imsty nty im(.i) sꜣ Wsir Nwb-*

1) *[ii.ti] mꜣꜥ ḫrw sꜣ Imsty Wsir Nwb-ii.ti mꜣꜥ ḫrw pw Imsty*

2) *The speech (of) Isis: (i) destroy [a] the foe [b] and protect Imsty who is in (me)[c], the protection of Osiris Nwb-.*

1) [*ii.ti*][(d)] *the justified is the protection of Imsty, Osiris Nwb-ii.ti the justified is Imsty.*

(Fig. 2) The second Canopic jar with a hawk headed lid.

Comment

a. The verb *sm3* 'to slay, to destroy'[13] is written here without the sign and without a determinative.

It is usual in this kind of text to find the verb in metatheses such as [14] where the letter *3* introduced on the letter *m*.[15] The determinative of the verb varies between , , and .[16]

b. The word *d3it* 'foe, enemy, opponent'[17] ends with the determinative [18] or [19] or with both determinatives.[20] So, the scribe here was confused between the determinative and .[21]

c. Addition of the suffix pronoun, first person, singular.

d. The first line starts with a damaged part; there is enough space to put the last part of the deceased name .

3. The third Canopic jar with a jackal headed lid

Inv. Nr: 516\3
Material: Alabaster
Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster Canopic jar with a jackal head as a symbol of *Dw3-mwt.f* bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame. The jar is polished outside; the cover, not polished, is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes carefully cut in the stone.

1)

2)

2) *ḏd n Nit sdw3(.i) smšr(.i) rʿ-nb ḥr [ir] mkt n Dw3-mwt.f nty im(.i) s3 Ws-*

1) *ir Nwb-ii.ti m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 Dw3-mwt.f Wsir Nwb-ii.ti m3ʿ-ḫrw pw Dw3-mwt.f*

2) *The speech of Neith: (i) spend the morning,[(a)] evening[(b)] and everyday make protection of Dw3-mwt.f who is in (me),[(c)] the protection of Os-*

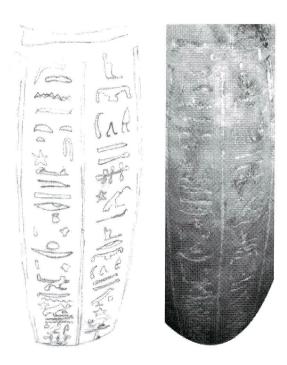
1) *iris Nwb-ii.ti the justified is the protection of Dw3-mwt.f, Osiris Nwb-ii.ti the justified is Dw3-mwt.f.*

Comment

a. *sdw3* 'spend the morning, make an early start' appeared in the Saite Period[22] and was written in different ways on the other Canopic jars such as ,[23] ,[24] [25] and .[26]

b. *smšr* 'spend the evening' appeared in the Saite Period .[27] The word is written in a strange way, where the first sign is unclear; it is probably that the scribe was confused between it and the sign . As for the two last signs of the word, maybe intend or , so the correct writing probably is where the word appeared in the same spelling in parallel texts .[28] The part after the word *smšr* was confused, the first preposition is increased while it is suggested to be the verb after the second preposition *ḥr*. the comparison of this formula with others on the Canopic jars appears that formula reads as:

.[29]

ḏd mdw in Nit sdw3.i smšr.i rʿ-nb ḥr ir mkt n Dw3-mwt.f nty im(.i) s3 Wsir N s3 Dw3-mwt.f Wsir N pw Dw3-mwt.f

(Fig. 3) The third Canopic jar with a jackal headed lid.

Recitation by Neit, i spend the morning, the evening and the day making protection of Dw3-mwt.f who is in me, the protection of Osiris N is the protection of Dw3-mwt.f, Osiris N is Dw3-mwt.f.

c. addition of the suffix pronoun, first person, singular.

4. The fourth Canopic jar with an ape headed lid

Inv. Nr: 516\4

Material: Alabaster

Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster jar with an ape head as a symbol of *Ḥpy* bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame run from right to left. The jar is polished outside. The cover is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes and mouth carefully cut in the stone.

1)

2)

2) *ḏd n Nbt-ḥwt (ḫ3)p(.i) sšt3 ḥr ir bs3 n Ḥpy nty im(.i) s3 Wsir*

1) *Nwb-ii.ti m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 Ḥpy Wsir Nwb-ii.ti m3ʿ-ḫrw pw Ḥpy*

2) *The speech of Nephthys: (i) conceal[a] the secret[b] and make protection[c] of Ḥpy who is in (me)[d], the protection of Osiris.*

1) *Nwb-ii.ti the justified is the protection of Ḥpy, Osiris Nwb-ii.ti the justified is Ḥpy.*

(Fig. 4) The fourth Canopic jar with an ape headed lid.

Comment

a. It is clear that the scribe wrote only the sign [hieroglyph] of the verb [hieroglyph];[30] he forgot the sign [hieroglyph],[31] which comes so much in the parallel texts.[32]

b. [hieroglyph] *sšt3* 'secret'. It is clear here that the sign [hieroglyph] came later after the group [hieroglyph] but it came in parallel texts of Canopic jars in its normal place such as [hieroglyph][33] and [hieroglyph].[34]

c. The verb [hieroglyph] 'to protect'[35] is written with an incorrect determinative. It is probably that the scribe intended the sign [hieroglyph] which usually comes as an end for the verb such as [hieroglyph],[36] but the great potential that the scribe confused between the determinative of the verb *ḥ3p* [hieroglyph], which is found in the oldest formula of Nephthys,[37] and the determinative of verb *bs3*. The same occurs in other verbs such as verb *sdw3* which usually ends with the determinative ⊙ or ✶. It appears taking the determinative [hieroglyph].[38] The verb appeared with different determinatives such as [hieroglyph], [hieroglyph], [hieroglyph] and [hieroglyph].[39]

d. Addition of the suffix pronoun, first person, singular.

Owner of the jars

The owner of these Canopic jars is *Nwb-ii.ti* 'the gold came'. It is attested as a proper name in the texts of the Middle Kingdom,[40] or even earlier in the First Intermediate Period,[41] and became common in the Late Period. The owner's name is written, as it came before, one time with the sign [hieroglyph][42] instead of the sign [hieroglyph] mistakenly, but the right full name is [hieroglyph],[43] [hieroglyph] and [hieroglyph].[44] A female form from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty bears the same name.[45]

The inscriptions of the four Canopic jars mentioned the owner's name, but did not mention the name of his father or his mother. On the other hand, no title or profession of the deceased is mentioned.

Dating of Canopic jars

The date of those Canopic jars is unknown; the registration of Al-Ashmunein Magazine dates them to the Saite Period, but depending on the characteristics of the lids and hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is more appropriate to place them in the Era between the Saite Period and the Thirtieth Dynasty. The traditional formula which occupied the Saite Period onward and the appearance verb [hieroglyph][46] did not permit to put these Canopic jars before this period. So, I am inclined to suggest dating them to the first occupation in Persian Period because the errors in the texts were spread in the first Persian occupation in Egypt, especially in the texts of the sarcophagi.[47]

However, the formula of the four Canopic jars (CG. 4375-4378), which resembles the current jars in the opposite direction of the lines dated to the Libyan Period, is not a complete formula, so we cannot include them in the same Period.

In addition, Dolzani[48] divided the formulas of the Canopic jars into seven forms. He dated the last one, which looks like ours to the Saite Period onwards, according K. Sethe who divided the formula of the Canopic jars into nineteen types, the last one also dated to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.[49]

The characteristics of the inscriptions

Apparently, there is a tendency to that the words lack the determinatives, and the signs themselves inscribed on the jars are very thin and not deep. They resemble the graffiti on the rocks, especially in some signs such as *ḳbḥ*- sign and *s3*- sign. There is no proportion in the size among the different signs; some of them are small and the others are big; more words are written errors or decreased letters. On the texts of the four Canopic jars, the suffix pronoun first person singular is omitted, whether following verbs or following prepositions.

For example, the name of Osiris is written eight times, four of them and four , in the eight times the name is written without the divine determinative . It seems that the name was a written likeness on the Canopic jars of the Saite Period.[50]

Notes

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1 G. Reisner, 'The Dated Canopic Jars of the Gizah Museum', *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 70-71; G. Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4039, 4100, 4101, 4102, 4107, 4108, 4109 .... Etc; C. Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, n. 19001- 19153; *Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino* IV (Milano, 1982), n. 19028, 19029, 19030, 19031, 19032, 19033, 19034, 19035, 19036. E. Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I (1978), 1, 4, 7, 68, 119, 122.

2 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4375, 4376, 4377, 4378.

3 K. Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche* (Berlin, 1934), 12.

4 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 13*(1).

5 Reisner, *Canopics, CG.* 4101, 4109, 4117, 4121, 4124, 1440, 4144, 4148, 4158, 4160, 4174, 4269; Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, n. 19001- 19153; *Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino* IV, n. 19035.

6 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 13-14.

7 Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I, 160.

8 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4101, 4109, 4117, 4121, 4124, 4129, 4174, 4269, 4280.

9 See: Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4140, 4148, 4152. 4156, 4160, 4174.

10 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 229-230.

11 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4121 for more examples see: Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4148, 4156, 4160, 4174, 4269; Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I, 125, 160; Reisner, *ZÄS* 37, 71.

12 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 229-230.

13 *Wb* IV, 122, 7-123, 11; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II (Berkeley, 1982), 39.

14 Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, n. 19032; J. Malek, 'Imset (I) and Hepy (H) Canopic-Jars of Neferseshem-psammethek', *JEA* 64 (1978), 139.

15 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4102, 4106, 4114, 4140; Rarely we find the verb in its regular form. see: Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4166.

16 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 13* (2).

17 *Wb.* V, 517, 10- 518, 1; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II, 261.

18 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4106, 4122, 4277.

19 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4102, Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 13*(4).

20 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4266.

21 Malek, *JEA* 64, 139.

22 *Wb* IV, 368, 1; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II, 98.

23 Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, n. 19030.

24 Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, n. 19034; Reisner, *Canopics, CG.* 4100, 4108.

25 Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I, 33.

26 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4100, 4512; Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 14*(16).

27 *Wb* IV, 144, 1.

28 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4116, 4143, 4159, 4279.

29 Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I, 154; Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4101, 4104, 4108, 4116, 4120, 4151, 4159, 4268, 4279, 4286; Reisner, *ZÄS* 37, 71; Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 230, 12*(c).

30 *Wb* III, 30, 6–31, 3; R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1969), 163.

31 Malek, *JEA* 64, 139.

32 Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I, 134; Reisner, *Canopics*, CG. 4103, 4107.

33 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4146.

34 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4282.

35 *Wb.* I, 475, 8-10; Faulkner, *A concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 84; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, 139; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon* (Leuven, 1997), 332.

36 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4103, 4115; Malek, *JEA* 64, 139.

37 Reisner, *ZÄS* 37, 66.

38 Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4151.

39 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 14*(13).

40 H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen personennamen* I (Glückstadt, 1935), 190 (7).

41 PM VIII3, 199 (803-030-304).

42 Canopic Jar number 516\2.

43 Canopic Jar number 516\3.

44 Canopic Jar number 516\4.

45 M. Daressy, 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée d'Alexandrie', *ASAE* 5 (1904), 117; C.R. Williams, 'The Egyptian Collection in the Museum of Art at Cleveland, Ohio', *JEA* 5 (1918), 40.

46 *Wb* IV, 144, 1.

47 A.A. Abdel-Rahman, 'A Wooden Sarcophagus from Saqqara in the Egyptian Museum', *SCA* 5 (2008), 133.

48 Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, 10-11.

49 Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche*, 229-230.

50 Dolzani, *Vasi Canopi*, n. 19028-19036; Brovarski, *Canopic Jars, MFA* I, 68, 122; Reisner, *Canopics, CG*, 4107. 4108, 4109, 4123, 4124, 4182 etc.

Philological Development of ‘*šdỉ.t*’ (Madinet el Fayoum) until the End of the Middle Kingdom

التطور اللغوي لشدت (مدينة الفيوم) حتى نهاية الدولة الوسطى

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ملخص

تهدف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة التطور اللغوي الهجائي لكلمة شدت، والتي تعني مدينة الفيوم (كيمان فارس) حتى نهاية الدولة الوسطى، ووضع ترجمة جديدة للكلمة تختلف في معناها واشتقاقها عن تلك المعاني والاشتقاقات التي أعطاها كلٌّ من مورينز ومن قبله بروجش. فقد ذهب مورينز أن كلمة (شدت) قد اشتقت من الفعل (شدي) بمعنى (يحفر)، وأن كلمة شدت تعني (الأرض التي تكونت من خلال الحفر)، بينما ذهب بروجش أن كلمة (شدت) تعني (الأرض الطينية) اعتمادًا على كلمة شدت التي ظهرت في الأسرة الثامنة عشرة والتي تعني (المدينة الطينية). ويرى البحث أن كلمة شدت قد اشتقت من الفعل (شدي) بمعنى (يأخذ أو يستخلص)، وعليه فإن كلمة شدت تعني (المأخوذة، المستخلصة) معتمدًا في ذلك على كَوْن شدت (كيمان فارس) ترتفع عن سطح البحر بمقدار ٢٣ م، بينما كانت المياه تغطي كل المنخفض الحالي خلال العصر الحجري القديم بمقدار ٣٠ م فوق سطح البحر. ومنذ عصر ما قبل الأسرات فإن المياه قد انحسرت عن المنخفض لتصبح تحت معدل ٢٣م فوق سطح الأرض، وبالتالي استخلصت شدت من المياه، ولم تُغمر طوال تاريخها حتى الآن. كما قدم البحث قراءة مبكرة لكلمة شدت من عصر نقادة الثالثة من خلال اللقب سوبك شدتي (سوبك شدت)، وذلك على طبعة ختم أسطواني من طرخان عُثر عليه في المقبرة رقم ٤١٤؛ حيث يظهر شكل بيت الشمال أو السرخ يعلوه رأس ثور أو غزال محنط، وهو الشكل الذي يُمثل مخصص كلمة شدت في نصوص الأهرام (١٥٦٤ب). وتعتبر تلك القراءة سابقة على القراءة المؤكدة للكلمة منذ عصر الأسرة الثانية من خلال لقب حور شدتي، والذي ظهر على ختم للملك خع سخموي من أبيدوس. كما تناول البحث التطور الهجائي للكلمة خلال عصر الدولة القديمة، عصر الانتقال الأول وعصر الدولة الوسطى معتمدًا في ذلك على النصوص الدينية ممثلة في نصوص الأهرام ومتون التوابيت، وكذلك على نصوص كبار الأفراد ممثلة في السير الذاتية المسجلة على جدران مقابرهم وغيرها من اللُّقى وموائد القرابين والأختام الأسطوانية.

1. The etymology and meaning of *šdi.t*

The etymology and meaning of *šdi.t* (Modern Kiman Fares in the Fayoum town) remains controversial among Egyptology scholars. It held its position as the main city and capital of the Fayoum Region as early as the Pre-Dynastic Period.[1] Morenz[2] translated the word *šdi.t*, derived from the verb *šdi* 'graben/to dig',[3] as 'durch graben gebildetes Land' which might indicate the land reclamation and irrigation projects in Fayoum as early as King *Narmer*.[4] On the other hand, Brugsch[5] previously suggested that *šdi.t* means 'mud town' or 'Schlamm Stadt' depending on the Eighteenth Dynasty word *šdi.t* which was referred to in *Berlin Dictionary* as 'a wet land or a muddy area full of fishes and frogs' or 'a water area for purification' in the Middle Kingdom texts.[6]

However, since the word *šdy.t* appeared lately in the Middle Kingdom following *šdi.t*. It is not logic to use a word displayed during the Middle Kingdom in order to interpret the meaning of *šdi.t*. While Morenz probably depended on *Diodorus Cecilus* legend of the establishment of *šdi.t* under King *Menes* which lacks evidence that it happened, or *šdi.t* might have already been established earlier.[7]

Consequently, *šdi.t* can be translated as 'taken or extracted' which is derived from the verb *šdi* 'nehmen/fortnehmen/herausnehmen'[8] as the town was almost completely submerged under water during the Paleolithic epoch. At that time, the water level in the Fayoum Depression was 30 m above sea level, and fluctuated between 23 m and 45 m above sea level; while *šdi.t* was only 23 m above sea level.[9] However, from the Pre-Dynastic Period onwards, water level dropped 23 m below sea level, and kept fluctuating, but never submerged the entire *šdi.t* again.[10] Therefore, *šdi.t* was naturally 'extracted' from water and became a good place for fishing and fowling.

The previous debate reflects how important the in-depth study of the philological development of *šdi.t* is. This paper aims to investigate the chronological development of *šdi.t* writing and orthography until the end of the Middle Kingdom. This time limitation is because the word showed no changes in its writing during the New Kingdom. Another study will be conducted on the orthography of *šdi.t* in Greco-Roman period.

2. Early references of *šdi.t*

šdi.t might be mentioned on a cylinder seal from the tomb 414 of Tarkhan since Naqqada III (?).[11] It shows the crocodile Sobek with two plumages on its back standing above a stand which is surrounded by other representations of crocodiles and coiled ropes that probably indicate 'water'. Directly before the stand, another important symbol is displayed on the seal; a bucranium/bovine's head surmounting probably a *serekh* or *pr-nw*[12] which is used in the Pyramid Text as a determinative of *šdi.t*.[13] This previous composition of figures can be read *Sbk šdi.ty*.[14]

Certainly, the name *šdi.t* appeared for the first time,[15] among one of the titles of Horus *Ḥr šdi.t(y)*, during the Second Dynasty as evident from the reconstruction of a seal that dates back to *Khasekhemwy* from Abydos.[16]

3. The chronological development of *šdi.t* writing and orthography

In the oldest instance of writing *šdi.t*, mentioned above, the word is written with bilateral sign *šd* and the consonant sign *t*. This feminine *t* is an added ending, not an original part of the noun itself. It is noted that the phonetic complement *d* does not exist.

3.1 In the Old Kingdom

In the Fourth Dynasty,[17] *šdi.t* was written with the full unilateral signs of the word accompanied with the bilateral sign *šd* . The word is written with the sign *šd* preceded by the two consonants *š*, and *d* as phonetic complements, and followed by *t* as a feminine added ending. During the Fifth Dynasty, a fragment from the Temple Userkaef bears part of a crocodile head surmounted by the hieroglyphic sign of the hand '*d*' most likely what remained from the word '*šdi.t*'.[18] It is clear, from the Fourth–Fifth Dynasties[19] examples of writing *šdi.t*, that it has been changed to its 'common' writing . The word is written with the bilateral sign *šd* and *d* as a phonetic complement, and followed by both *t* as a feminine added ending and ⊗ as a determinative.

The common determinative of writing *šdi.t* in the Old Kingdom is the ⊗ determinative which appeared for the first time on the false door of *k3 nfr* that dates back to the reign of King Senefru.[20] This determinative continued to be used twice in the Pyramid Texts versions of *Wnis* of the Fifth Dynasty and Pepi I of the Sixth Dynasty (Pyr.1564c). The same determinative also appeared on blocks from the south jamb of *k3 nfr* chapel entrance in Giza (G2150).[21]

In Pepi II's version of Pyramid Texts (Pyr.1564b), another determinative of the word *šdi.t* takes the shape of a *pr-nw* or a serekh surmounted by a bucranium replaced the ⊗ determinative. This determinative is connected to the chapel of Sobek in *šdi.t* during the Middle Kingdom.[22] The *pr-nw* or the serekh sign surmounted by a bucranium/bovine not only appeared as a determinative of *šdi.t* in Pepi II Pyramid Texts, but also represented on the previously mentioned seal of the tomb 414 in Tarkhan. This can be regarded as the first attempt to write the word *šdi.t*.[23]

Reading the word *šdi.t*/*šdi.t(y)* of the Old Kingdom was a debate among scholars. Although Dolzani,[24] Zibelius,[25] Kaplony,[26] Strudwick,[27] and Jones[28] in their reading to the title of both *K3 nfr* of the Fourth and Sixth Dynasties *ḥm nṯr sbk šdi.t(y)*,[29] place the weak consonant (*y*) as a *Nisba* adjective ending to the word *šdi.t*, in the Pyramid Texts, *šdi.t* can never be read as a *Nisba* adjective.[30]

3.2 In the First Intermediate Period

During the First Intermediate Period, due to the degradation of Lake Qarun to a very low level (-40 m to -50 m),[31] the name of *šdi.t* disappeared from literature along with the disappearance of the name of Sobek.[32]

3.3 In the Middle Kingdom

The name *šdi.t* started to rise again in the Coffin Texts through *Sbk šdi.ty* titles such as (B4C) - - (B10C[a] and B10C[b]).[33] It is obvious from the previous variations of *šdi.ty* that the determinative varies from coffin to coffin. Although the first variation takes the shape of a *Nisba* adjective which was infrequent in the Middle Kingdom,[34] it ends with the ⊗ determinative, the common one of the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the last variation of *šdi.ty* bears a unique determinative of a seated deity which should signify Sobek in his title *Sbk šdi.ty*. It is noted that this writing was also rare in the Middle Kingdom texts.[35] Notably, the absence of the phonetic complement *d* occurred in many examples dating back to the Middle Kingdom whether the word is written with a determinative[36] or without.[37]

Almost all instances of mentioning *šdi.t* during the Middle Kingdom date back to the reign of Amenemhat III.[38] The Old Kingdom traditional way of writing *šdi.t* appeared in some of these examples.[39] Notably, the additional (*y*) of the *Nisba* adjective, moreover, occurred in most Middle Kingdom examples.

During the Twelfth Dynasty, especially under Amenemhat III, ⊗ determinative has occurred in some examples whether *šdi.t(y)* refers to the noun or the *Nisba* adjective. In these instances, the word is written with the sign *šd*, and *d* as a phonetic complement, and followed by *t* as a feminine added ending accompanied with this determinative,[40] or written with the bilateral sign *šd*, followed by both *t* as feminine added ending and ⊗ as a determinative.[41] However, in many other examples, *šdi.t*/*šdi.ty* has been written without any determinatives.[42] In this case, it is written with the bilateral sign *šd*, followed by both *d* as a phonetic complement and *t* as a feminine added ending together with/or without \\ *y* as *Nisba* adjective. From the reign of Amenemhat III too, the sign, a bucranium on a *pr-nw* which was previously used as the determinative of *šdi.t* in Pepi II's version of Pyramid Texts, implies also a determinative.[43] Sometimes, this sign is only used to give the phonogram *šd.t*.[44] Furthermore, the duplication of this sign, used as a *Nisba* adjective of *šdi.ty*, occurred in the same period whether used alone[45] or following the word *šdi.t* itself.[46] This dual sign becomes the symbol of Sobek Temple in *šdi.t* (Kiman Fares) during the Middle Kingdom.

On the other hand, although the sign was used as a determinative in the word *šdi.t*,[47] it appeared independently and reads *šdi.t*.[48] The sign is also used as a symbol of Sobek Temple in *šdi.t*. In a rare example in Medinet Madi inscriptions, *šdi.t* is written only with a *pr-nw* sign.[49] Moreover, is another sign which is used as a bilateral sign *šd* followed by an added ending *t*.[50] This sign might be an abbreviation of the sign discussed above. The duplication of this sign, used as a *Nisba* adjective of *šdi.ty*.[51]

Notes

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1 D. Arnold, 'Fajjum', *LÄ* II (1977), 88; E. Brovarski, 'Sobek', *LÄ* V (1984), 996.

2 S. Morenz, 'Traditionen um Menes', *ZÄS* 99 (1973), 10-16, 13.

3 *Wb* IV, 563.

4 A. Ćwiek, 'Fayum in the Old Kingdom', *GM* 160 (1997), 18.

5 H. Brugsch, 'Der Möris-See', *ZÄS* 31 (1893), 27-28.

6 *Wb* IV, 567, 13-14.

7 O. Ibrahim, and I. Abd El-Sattar, 'Major Historical, Archaeological, and Religious Features of the Fayoum Region during the Old Kingdom', in: R. Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, UNESCO – (Cairo, 2011) 142f.

8 *Wb* IV, 560.

9 GPS readings.

10 F. Hassan, G. Tassie, 'Modelling Environmental and Settlement Change in the Fayum', *Egyptian Archaeology* 29 (2006), 39.

11 W.M.F. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, II (London, 1913), pl. II no.4.

12 Brovarski, *LÄ* V, 997, fig. 1; G. Dryer, *Umm el-Qaab 1. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftezeugnisse* (Mainz, 1998), 173-182; M. Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period* (Perugia, 2010), 6, fig. 2; Ibrahim, Abd El-Sattar, in: Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, UNESCO, 142f, fig.1.

13 *Pyr.*1564c.

14 Cf. Brovarski, 'Sobek', *LÄ* V, 997, fig.1.

15 Although the *Dictionary of Berlin* stated that the first appearance of *Sdi.t* was in the Pyramid Texts *Wb* IV, 567, 4.

16 E.M. Engel, *et al.*, 'Umm el-Qaab- Nachuntersuchungen im Frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 16./17./18 Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 62 (2006), 117-118, fig.17e.

17 It appeared on a false door of *kꜣ nfr* from the reign of Senefru T.G. James, *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, I (London, 1961), pl.10.

18 Brovarski, 'Sobek', *LÄ* V, fig.4; Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period*, 15.

19 L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*, I (Leipzig, 1907), 92, fig.70; G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necopolis*, I (Oxford, 1942), pl. 396; *Pyr.* 416c (W); 1564b (P); D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, II (London, 2000), 574; Ibrahim, Abd El-Sattar, in: Pirelli (ed.) *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, 140-142.

20 James, *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, I, pl.10.

21 Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necopolis*, I, pl. 396.

22 As shown on a block preserved in Berlin Museum. L. Habachi, 'Une vaste salle d'Amenemhat III à Kiman-Farès (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 37 (1937), fig.10; Brovarski, 'Sobek', *LÄ* V, 997, fig.2.

23 Cf. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, II, 2 and Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C, Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York 1968), 3-5.

24 C. Dolzani, *Il Dio Sobek, atti della academia nazionale dei lincei, storiche e filologiche* VIII, 10.4 (Rome, 1961), 180.

25 K. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 237.

26 P. Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches, II, Kataloge der Rollsiegel* (Brukelles, 1981), 214, pl. 66(7).

27 N.C. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), 152 (148).

28 Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, II, 574.

29 For reading *Sdi.t* see: H.W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄF* 18, (Glückstadt, 1954), 123, 145; E. Brovarski, 'Two Old Kingdom Writing Boards from Giza', *ASAE* 71 (1987), 33(8).

30 *Pyr.* 416c (W); 1564b (P, N).

31 Hassan-Tassie, *Egyptian Archaeology* 29 (2006), 39.

32 Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period*, 20.

33 *CT.* I, sp.61, 260 d-e.

34 See: A.H. Gardiner, 'Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum Papyrus', *RdÉ* 11 (1957), pl.3, 71. For further reading see the inscription no.48 of Wadi Hammāmāt. M.M.J. Couyat, P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Ḥammâmât*, *MIFAO* 39 (1912), 51.

35 See: P. Kahun LVI.1. F.L. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob.* (Principally of the Middle Kingdom), II (London, 1898), pl. 31, 33; pl. 36, 50; see: P. Berlin 10005 from Al-lahun. L. Borchardt,'Bes oldungsverhältniss von Priestern in Mittleren Reich', *ZÄS* 40 (1902-03), 114.

36 On a block of Amewnemhat III from Hawwara and preserved in the British Museum (171.1072). F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens Während des Mittleren Reiches*, I. *Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, TAVO, Beiheft Reihe B 66/2 (Wiesbaden, 1986), 392; Also on a vessel of Neferuptah from Hawwara, N. Farag, Z. Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferuptah* (Cairo, 1971), 14f.

37 On a fragment of Amenemhat III in Berlin Museum (11585). Berlin, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlischen-staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I (Leipzig, 1913), 139; in Madinet Madi temple inscriptions. A. Vogliano, *Secondo rapport regli scavi condatti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della Regia Università di Milano nella Zone di Medînat Mâdî* (Milan, 1937), pl. 33; S. Donadoni, 'Testi geroglifici di Medinet Madi', *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 351. On a statue of *Rn-snb*. H. Wild, 'Quatre statuettes du Moyen Empire dans une collection privée de Suisse', *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 115, fig. 6, pl. 21. On a statue of *Sbk-htp*. Wild, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 90ff, fig.1.

38 The oldest examples of writing *šdi.t* during the Middle Kingdom date back to the reign of Amenemhat II *mry sbk Hr šdi.ty* on a circular object in Brooklyn Museum 37.1746E (unknown provenance). T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum, I. From the Dynasty I to the Dynasty XVIII* (Brooklyn, New York, 1974), 42, no. 96, pl. 33, and to the reign of Senusret II *mry sbk nb šdi.t* on a cylinder seal preserved in Brooklyn Museum 44.123.56 (unknown provenance). James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum, I. From the Dynasty I to the Dynasty XVIII*, 47-48, no. 108, pl. 35.

39 Cf. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum, I. From the Dynasty I to the Dynasty XVIII*, 47-48, no.108, pl. 35.

40 On block of stone dates back to Amenemhat III from Hawwara. M. Chabân, 'Fouilles à Achmounéîn', *ASEA* 8 (1907), 223. In a relief that dates back to

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41 Vogliano, *Secondo rapport regli scavi condatti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della Regia Università di Milano nella Zone di Medînat Mâdî*, pl. 33; Donadoni, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 339. Gardiner, *RdÉ* 11 (1957), pl. 3, 80. On the Statue of queen Neferusobek from Khataᶜna-Qantir. Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 459; Valloggia, *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 46.

42 On a fragment in Berlin 11585 dates back to the reign of Amenemhat III. Berlin, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den könglischen-staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I, 139, in Madinet Madi temple inscriptions. Vogliano, *Secondo rapport regli scavi condatti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della Regia Università di Milano nella Zone di Medînat Mâdî*, Milan, pl. 33; Donadoni, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 351; On some cylinder seals of Amenemhat III. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 86. On the Statue of queen Neferusobek from Khataᶜna-Qantir. Habachi, *ASEA* 52 (1954), 459-460; M. Valloggia, *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 46. On the statue of *Sbk-htp*. Wild, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 90ff, fig.1; in P. Ramesseum VI. Gardiner, *RdÉ* 11 (1957), pl. 2, 31, 43, 46; pl. 3, 65, 76, 83, 94, 106, 114, 119; pl. 4, 123, 125.

43 Gardiner, *RdÉ* 11 (1957), pl. 2, 31; frag. C.

44 I. Farag, *The Discovery of Neferuptah,* 14f; H. Wild, 'Quatre statuettes du moyen empire dans une collection privéc de Suisse', *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 115, fig. 6, pl. 21f.

45 Cf. Habachi, *ASAE* 37 (1937), 95, fig. 10. On cylinder seal of queen Neferusobek preserved in the British Museum (16581). P.E. Newberry, *Scarabs. Egyptian Antiquities* (London, 1906), 113 no. 6, pl. 6, 21; 'Co-regencies of Ammenenes III, IV and Sebknofru', *JEA* 29 (1943), 75; Valloggia, *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 47, fig.1. On the statue of *Ippi* in the Brooklyn Museum. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum,* I. *From the Dynasty I to the Dynasty XVIII*, 59, pl.7. On the fragment no.11586 in Berlin Museum. Berlin, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den könglischen-staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I, 139.

46 Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 392.

47 On a statue of Amenemhat III from Hawara (Cairo CG. 20699). Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 392.

48 Valloggia, *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 46.

49 Vogliano, *Secondo rapport regli scavi condatti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della Regia Università di Milano nella Zone di Medînat Mâdî*, pl. 33; Donadoni, *Orientalia* 16, 341-43.

50 Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 56, 86.

51 Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 56, 86.

Names Allocated to the Fayoum Region in Ancient Egypt

الأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم في مصر القديمة

Ibrahim Abd El-Sattar* - Osama Ibrahim**

ملخص

كان لإقليم الفيوم العديد من الأسماء؛ الأمر الذي جعله يتفرد بين أقرانه بتعددها واستخدامها معًا في نفس الفترة الزمنية، وحتى الآن لم تُعالج تلك الأسماء لُغويًا، وزمانيًا، ومكانيًا في دراسة شاملة لتسد تلك الفجوة بالنسبة لدارسي وعلماء الآثار والمصريات. وتهدف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة الأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم في عصور مصر القديمة، وعمل قائمة إحصائية لتلك الأسماء، وبداية ظهور كل اسم وامتداده التاريخي، وطرح المشاكل المتعلقة بالامتداد الزمني والمكاني لتلك الأسماء. وتضم القائمة الإحصائية للأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم أسماء مؤكدة ارتبطت بالإقليم؛ مثل: شي رسي (البحيرة الجنوبية)، وشي (البحيرة)، وتا شي (أرض البحيرة)، ومر ور (البحيرة العظيمة)، واچ ور (الأخضر العظيم)، وبايم (البحر أو البحيرة). ومن جهة أخرى تشير أيضًا القائمة إلى بعض الأسماء غير المؤكد ارتباطها بإقليم الفيوم؛ مثل: بنت واو سوبك (جزيرة سوبك). ومن خلال الدراسة اتضح أن كل تلك الأسماء ارتبطت بالمياه مثل بحيرة قارون، ومن ثم اتخذ بعضها مخصصات دالة على المياه. كما اتضح أن تلك الأسماء – مع الأخذ في الاعتبار استبعاد الأسماء غير المؤكدة – لم يحل إحداها محل الآخر بل استعمل بعضها جنبًا إلى جنب. وانتهت الدراسة إلى أن 'شي رسي' قد استمرت منذ الدولة القديمة وطوال عصري الأسرتين الحادية عشرة والثانية عشرة تمثل إقليم الفيوم بأكمله. وفي نهاية الأسرة الثانية عشرة أصبحت كلٌّ من 'شي رسي' و'شي محتي' بمثابة قسمين إداريين يكوِّنان معًا إقليم 'تاشي'. كما أوضحت الدراسة أن تاشي خلال العصر البطلمي – كما جاء في كتاب الفيوم – كانت تمثل الجزء الجنوبي من 'واچ ور'، بينما كانت تمثل 'مر ور' الجزء الشمالي من 'واچ ور'.

A variety of names were allocated to the Fayoum region throughout ancient Egyptian history. These names bore profound significances mostly connected with Lake Qarun existence. The name 'Fayoum' itself, which is derived from the ancient Egyptian word '*P3-ym*' meaning '*the Lake*', is a clear example. This paper aims to investigate the names of the Fayoum region during the Pharaonic Period in terms of their etymologies, determinative significance, and historical extension of each name. The research also finds out whether there is any link between these names and Lake Qarun.

This paper presents an inventory of the Pharaonic names of Fayoum region known from monuments and texts. It studies the texts in which these names occurred, their historical extension, their determinatives and finally discusses the outcomes. The emerged inventory of the Fayoum region names included seven names: *Š-rsy*, *T3-š*, *Mr-wr*, *W3ḏ-wr*, *P3-ym*, *Ỉw-sbk*, and *Bnt*.

1. Introduction

The Fayoum region is basically below sea level. It is a depression bounded by scarps and plateaus in most parts. Lake Qarun occupies the north-western section of the Fayoum Depression. It is 43 meters below sea level, while the remaining of the Depression slopes towards the Lake from south-east to north-west.[1]

A variety of names were allocated to the Fayoum region throughout ancient Egyptian history. Most of them bore profound significances, mostly connected with Lake Qarun existence. During the Old Kingdom, the region was named *Š-rsy* 'the Southern Lake'. In the Middle Kingdom, it was known as *T3-š* 'Land of the Lake' and *T3-š sbk* 'Land of the Lake of Sobek'. During the New Kingdom, the names *P3-ym* 'the Sea' and *Mr-wr* 'the Great Lake' appeared. From the sixth to the second centuries BCE, the Fayoum region was named *p3 tš n p3-ym* in Demotic texts. During the Fifth Century CE, Fayoumi residents probably continued to call the region *P3-ym* – *Peiom* (Sahidic), *Phiom* (Bohairic), and *Piam* (Fayumic) from which the modern name Fayoum derived. The previously-mentioned names are all linked to water.[2] Furthermore, other names doubtly refer to the Fayoum region, but are also linked to water existence, and will be tackled in this paper, such as *š* 'the Lake', *š sbk* 'the Lake of Sobek', *ỉw sbk* 'the Island of Sobek' and *Bnt*? (unknown).[3]

2. *Š-rsy*

Š-rsy, meaning 'the Southern Lake', was referred to, for the first time, in the autobiographical inscriptions of *Meten* who was entitled *ḥk3 nw.wt ḥw.t ꜥ3.t n(y).t Š-rsy* 'Overseer of towns (settlements) of the great state of *Š-rsy*'.[4] Another title of *Meten*, included the emblem of a crocodile on a stand as a sign, reads: *imy-r wp.t sbk ỉ3bty*.[5] This title, according to Cwiek, was possibly connected to the Fayoum region.[6] Among the blocks from Royal Funerary Temples re-used in the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, was a fragmentary architrave[7] from a private tomb with a title *ḥk3- nsw.t ḥry-mdw imy-r šnḏ nb n Š-rsy* of an '(estate) manager of the king,[8] Holder of the staff bearer(?),[9] overseer of all the acacia trees of *Š-rsy*'. This fragment has been dated by H. Goedicke to the Third/early Fourth Dynasties and probably came from Saqqara,[10] if not from Meidum or Dahshur as Cwiek suggested.[11]

Through the profound analysis of *Š-rsy* determinatives, an important question arose: Was *Š-rsy* a province or a town? As indicated by the absence of the 'town' determinative in writing *Š-rsy*, it was used as a designation of the entire Fayoum region[12] during the end of the Third, Fourth and probably Fifth Dynasties.[13] Another example that supports the result of the designation of *Š-rsy* as a province appeared in a brief list of nomes in an Old Kingdom

tomb of *Kheni-wi-qai* at Tehna El-Gebel, dating back to mid-Fifth Dynasty, where *Š-rsy* occurs as a nome.[14]

From the title of *Meten, ḥḳ3 nw.wt ḥw.t ꜥ3.t n(y).t Š-rsy*, it is evident that *Š-rsy* consisted of a group of settlements overlooked by *Meten*. While from the other title *ḥḳ3- nsw.t ẖry-mdw ỉmy-r šnḏ nb n Š-rsy*, it can be deduced that the region was producing acacia trees that were supervised by the holder of this title.

It is worth mentioning that *Š* 'the Lake', as the name of the Fayoum region in the Old Kingdom, was interchangeably used with *Š-rsy* due to the existence of water covering the whole region. Most probably the name was an abbreviation of *Š-rsy* as Gardiner suggests.[15]

Contrary to the previous result, *Š-rsy* also referred to a particular town in the Fayoum region, as indicated by the appearance of ⊗ determinative, existed in the list of towns mentioned in Wilbour Papyrus [hieroglyphs].[16]

By the end of the Fifth Dynasty, it is noted that *Š-rsy* disappeared from ancient documentation. Then, it suddenly reappeared during the Middle Kingdom in several variations including: [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] *Š*, [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] *Š-rsy*, [hieroglyphs] *Š-rsy n(y) Sbk*, [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] *Š n Sbk*, [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] - [hieroglyphs] *Š Sbk*, [hieroglyphs] *Š šmꜥy pḥ*. Worth mentioning, the first appearance of [hieroglyphs] *Š-mḥty* also appeared in the Middle Kingdom. Although no determinative of *š-rsy* has occurred during the Old Kingdom, [hieroglyph] determinative has dominated the writings of *š* and *Š-rsy* during the Middle Kingdom. The same determinative has also occurred in the name of *T3-š* which appeared also during the Middle Kingdom. The appearance of this determinative is quite logical and copes with the location and topography of Fayoum. The Region is located in the Western Desert of Egypt and surrounded by scarps and plateaus; therefore, it is quite an expressive determinative that most probably indicates *Š-rsy* as a reference to the entire Province. It is also noted that the names *Š* and *Š-rsy* during the Middle Kingdom are connected to Sobek, whether as a direct or indirect genitive.

By the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Fayoum region was probably divided into two administrative sections. A statue belongs to *Semenekhkare* from Madinet Madi bearing the title *ỉmy-r šnꜥw Š-rsy mḥty* 'the overseer of the desert-rangers of *Š-rsy* and *Š-mḥty*'.[17] That division is emphasized from the New Kingdom onwards; as *Sobekhotep*, son of *Kapu*, was entitled on a statue in Marseilles either as '*ḥ3ty-ꜥ wr m T3-š*' or '*ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Š-rsy Š-mḥty*'.[18] The indirect genitive of the latter title refers to two different geographical places that are inferior comparing to *T3-š* in the propositional predicate of the former title. If this deduction is judged correctly, it means that *š-rsy* and *š-mḥty* were merely parts of *T3-š* which, in turn, indicates that they were two geographical divisions in the Fayoum region and did not imply the whole region *T3-š*. On another statue of *Sobekhotep* in Berlin, he was entitled '*ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Š*' like his father whose title was '*ḥ3ty-ꜥ wr m Š*'. On the other hand, another *Sobekhotep*, whose father was the chief treasurer of Min and who owned tomb 63 at Thebes, was entitled '*ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Š-rsy Š n Sbk*'. Thus, it may be noted that *Šn sbk* and *Š-mḥty* were identical.[19]

The inscriptions on a black granite stela, discovered in Quta by Daressy, and probably dating back to the Ptolemaic period, was used as a boundary stela between *Š-mḥty n Sbk* and *Š-rsy n Sbk*. It can be deduced that *Š-rsy* and *Š-rsy n Sbk* are identical, and that *Š-rsy* was a name, not only of a town, but also of an entire district located to the west and south-west of Lake Qarun.[20] In contrast of the above-mentioned deduction regarding *Š-rsy* and *Š-mḥty*, Brugsch

previously believed that they were the two main drainage canals ending in Lake Qarun, known now as *El-Bats* (بحر البطس) and *El-Wadi* (بحر الوادي) drainage canals.[21] Literature reveals other opinions; one of them is that *Š-mḥty* and *Š-rsy* are identified with *Š n sbk*.[22] Furthermore, in the Middle Kingdom, *Š n sbk* has occurred and may refer to *Š sbk*. Gauthier[23] and Griffith[24] suggested that *Š sbk* refers to the Fayoum region and *Šd.t* its main harbor.

Eventually, Gardiner was the first to assume a kind of relationship between *Š* (as a town in the Fayoum region and not as a whole Fayoum region) and *Mr-wr* (Kom Madinet Ghurab). In the town list of Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 7), *Š*, *Rbn3*, and *Mr-wr* are inscribed following Heracleopolis. Therefore, Gardiner concluded that not only both *š* and *Mr-wr* were towns, but that they were different; and that *š* was probably inscribed to the south of *Mr-wr*.[25] Contrary to what is written in Golénischeff Onomasticon, some evidence indicate that *Š* and *Mr-wr* were used interchangeably. Brugsch noted that a coffin from the Nineteenth Dynasty was found at Kom Madinet Ghurab of an official who describes himself as 'Deputy-overseer of the harem in *Š*', substituting *š* for *Mr-wr*, in another inscription from the same site. Moreover, Wilbour Papyrus (A 18, 7) mentions a 'Scribe of the king's apartments in *Š*' with a title parallel to *Mr-wr*. The same case of the father of the early Eighteenth Dynasty mayor of Thebes, *Tetaky* was an 'Overseer of the harem of *Š*'. A third evidence from a late Eighteenth Dynasty legal document of Kom Madinet Ghurab, mentions a woman who was likely an inhabitant of *Š*. The previous three evidences conclude that *Š* was another name for *Mr-wr*.[26]

3. *T3-š*

The first mentioning of *T3-š* as a name of the Fayoum region was during the Middle Kingdom,[27] more specifically in the Twelfth Dynasty. That Dynasty is distinguished by the flourishing of the Fayoum region due to the transferring of Egypt's capital from Thebes to *Iṯt-t3wy* 'the modern El-Lisht'. The name continued to be mentioned until the end of the Greco-Roman Period[28] side by side with other Fayoum region names. Most of our sources of *T3-š* are mainly from the titles of Osiris[29] and sometimes from the titles of Horus,[30] Sobek[31] and other deities.[32] *The Dictionary of the Egyptian Language of Berlin*[33] and Gardiner[34] translated *T3-š* as 'Lake Land, the Fayoum region'.

As *Š-rsy* and *Š*, the determinative of *T3-š* in most cases is determinative. In the Middle Kingdom, this determinative appeared in almost all inscriptions of *T3-š*; for instance, a text inscribed on a block from Memphis,[35] a relief of the reign of Amenemhat III from Fayoum preserved in Berlin Museum (16953),[36] an inscription from Madinet Madi,[37] a fragment of *Renefankh* from Hawara,[38] and a statue of *Mannes* of the Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasties.[39] On the other hand, *T3-š* was sometimes written without any determinatives during the Middle Kingdom, as it is written on a pearl of queen *Neferusobek*.[40]

The sign continued as a determinative of *T3-š* during the New Kingdom as occurred in the title of *Sobekhotep*, son of *Kapu*, on his statue in Marseilles *'ḥ3ty-ʿ wr m T3-š'* (discussed above). The same determinative appeared in another New Kingdom example, a Nineteenth Dynasty limestone statue preserved in Manchester Museum (5376) and discovered in Hawara.[41]

However, most probably in the Late[42] and Ptolemaic Periods, - *T3-š* was sometimes[43] written using the 'town determinative' ⊗,[44] which highlights the same dilemma debated in *Š* and *Š-rsy* and investigated above.

During the same period, however, *T3-š* was written with the two determinatives and ⊗ together. For

example, titles of Osiris in *ḥtp di nsw* formula on a set of canopic jars belonged to two sons of a man named *Hor-Udia* from Hawara and dates back to the Thirteenth Dynasty;[45] titles of Osiris in *ḥtp di nsw* formulae too on some coffins from Hawara,[46] date back to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. Although, in the Late Period Hieroglyphs orthography, the appearance of more than one determinative is quite common, this odd representation of *Tꜣ-š* determinatives is hard to be interpreted as it is difficult to accept the idea that *Tꜣ-š* was a town and a district at the same time. However, it raises an important question about whether the name means the entire region including its towns and desert areas(?).[47]

Among the titles of Osiris in *ḥtp di nsw* formula written on a wooden coffin from Hawara, dating back to the Late-Ptolemaic Periods, *Tꜣ-š* mentioned three times; one of them with and determinatives together. The second time is written with determinative and probably also with determinative, but unfortunately it is completely damaged. The third time is written with determinative.[48] As far as we know, it is the first time that *Tꜣ-š* was written with determinative. The reason for the existence of three different determinatives of *Tꜣ-š* in one text remains a controversial issue that needs much more research. However, the two and determinatives may refer to the region and its (temple/towns) at the same time, while determinative used to emphasize the meaning of the word Lake Land'(?). Moreover, *Tꜣ- š* is written, in the same period, with determinative.[49]

Neither nor determinatives of *T(ꜣ)-š* were written in the text of *Biankhy* which reads: *ḫd pw ir n ḥm.f r wp.t š* (another reading *wp Tꜣ-š*) *r gs r-ḥnt gm.n.f pr Sḫm-ḫpr-Rʿ* '*It is sail downstream which his majesty has made to the entrance of the lake (Tꜣ-š) beside the mouth of the lake (Lahun). He found the settlement of Sekhemkheperre*'.[50] *Tꜣ-š* was written here with the determinative which represents the irrigation canal.[51] On the other side, the text implies that *Tꜣ-š* refers to the entire Fayoum region with Lahun gap as its entrance as clear in the phrase *wp Tꜣ-š* which is equivalent to the phrase *r gs r-ḥnt* as the entrance to the Fayoum region.[52]

In the New Kingdom, the statement '*iw.w ḥry-ib Tꜣ-š*' 'Islands in the middle of *Tꜣ-š*'[53] indicates that *Tꜣ-š* refers to the entire Fayoum region including the Lake with its islands. Furthermore, the title of Sobek, appeared in the Middle Kingdom, '*Sbk šdty nb Tꜣ-š*' 'Sobek who belongs to Shedet, Lord of *Tꜣ-š*'[54] emphasizes this idea. Further evidences from the Late Period confirmed that *Tꜣ-š* refers to the entire Fayoum region; the statement '*š wr m Tꜣ-š*' 'the great lake in *Tꜣ-š*'[55] appears. It is clear that *Š-wr* refers to Lake Qarun while *Tꜣ-š* refers to the entire Fayoum. This statement copes with the description of *Tꜣ-š* in the *Book of the Faiyum* mentioned above. Notably, both (*Š - Šy*) and (*Tꜣ-š – pꜣ Tꜣ-š(y) – Tš – Tše*) are mentioned in Demotic literature of the eighth century BCE onwards.[56]

Finally, in the Late Period onwards, *Tꜣ-š* is identified with another name of the *Fayoum Wꜣḏ-wr*. In his study on Fayoum localities, Yoyotte[57] addressed some examples that confirm this conclusion such as *gnw.t m Tꜣ-š st.k nfr m Km-wr*. This text emphasized, on one hand, that *Tꜣ-š* region consists of towns such as *Gnw.t*; and on another hand is identified with *Km-wr* which in turn, confirms the identification of *Tꜣ-š* with *Wꜣḏ-wr*.

Another proof of this identification between *Tꜣ-š* and *Wꜣḏ-wr* appeared in the Ptolemaic Period, as attested in a text from Ghurab stated that: *Wsir ity ḥry-ib Tꜣ-š nṯr-ʿꜣ ḥḳꜣ Wꜣḏ-wr Skr m Tꜣ-š* '*Osiris, the sovereign who is in the middle of Tꜣ-š, the great god, ruler of Wꜣḏ-wr, Soker in Tꜣ-š*'.[58] Moreover, in the

Greco-Roman period, *Š* was regarded as part of *T3-š* as clear in a title of Hathor *nb.t im3w m š wr m T3-š*. Obviously, the Lake in this title named *Š wr* 'the great lake' in *T3-š*. Another title of Sobek Shedit *ꜥnḫ.f m š ḥtp.f m T3-š* [59] confirmed the previous conclusion. Finally, *T3-š* personifies the Fayoum region which is divided into two administrative parts; *Š-rsy* and *Š-mḥty*. The region itself had towns and cult centers, while the Lake *Š* or the Great Lake *Š wr* with its islands was part of this region.

4. *Mr-wr*, *W3ḏ-wr*, *P3-ym*

4.1 *Mr-wr*

Berlin Dictionary translated *Mr-wr* as 'Lake Moeris of the Fayoum', He sometimes added variations to it without determinatives or with the 'town' determinative.[60] Moreover, *Mr-wr* is sometimes written with determinative, and in other examples with and determinatives. Since *T3-š* is identified with *W3ḏ-wr* and *Km-wr* as discussed above, *Mr-wr* is also identified with the northern side of *W3ḏ-wr* as evident in the following text *W3ḏ-wr mḥt Mr-wr pw*.[61] However, we should not neglect that *Mr-wr* refers to the town of Madinet Ghurab too.[62]

According to Gauthier, *Mr-wr* refers to the twenty-first nome of Upper Egypt.[63] Moreover, in the geographical texts of Edfu Temple which date back to the reign of Ptolemy IV *Philopator*, *Mr-wr* was referred to as the *nome Arsinoeite* followed by the twenty-second *nome*.[64] It is difficult to state whether *Mr-wr* refers to Lake Moeris, Kom Medinet Ghurab or the entire Fayoum region as attested in the Demotic texts (*Š-wr*, *Mr-wr*, *Mw-wr*, *M-wr*, *M3-wr*).[65]

In the *Book of the Faiyum*, Lake Moeris was hand-dug following the theory of the Ogdood as Lake Qarun emerged from the Primeval Water, *Nun*. This idea was also highlighted by Herodotus who mentioned that Lake Moeris was hand-dug artificially too.[66]

4.2 *W3ḏ-wr*

The literal meaning of *W3ḏ-wr* is the 'Great Green'[67]. It is a mootpoint among scholars; some of them believe that it indicated any large body of water such as the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea.[68] However, the idea that the word means 'the sea' has been completely rejected by others.[69] While other scholars assume that the term has never had such significance and it means instead 'a fertile, lush and wet by water river' which concurs with the nature of the Fayoum region.[70] Other meanings of *W3ḏ-wr* have been launched by other scholars, including Lower Egypt.[71]

The oldest link between the Fayoum region and *W3ḏ-wr* was through the name of a person *W3ḏ-wr* probably lived during the Twelfth Dynasty whose name was written in a title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ3 Š-rsy* on a fragment of offering stela from Kahun.[72] In the New Kingdom, a stela, belongs to the Prince *Khaemwaset* the son of *Ramesses* II, was dedicated to the god *W3ḏ-wr*, which in this context cannot be more than a personification of the Fayoum region, and Osiris 'the ruler who resides in *T3-š*'.[73] Most of our sources of *W3ḏ-wr* as a name of Fayoum region date to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.[74] All these sources are methological but lack information about the administration and geography of *W3ḏ-wr* as the Fayoum region. The echo of the Osirian Myth is clear in most of these sources as Osiris was connected to the Lake of *W3ḏ-wr* in which he drawned. These sources stated that the primeval ocean Nun was part of *W3ḏ-wr* where the Ogdood came into existence[75] and some essential gods and goddesses such as

Rᶜ, *Mḥt Wrt*, and *Šd.t* also came into existence in *W3ḏ-wr ym*.[76] Likewise, *Rᶜ-Ḥr-3ḫty*, the elder son of goddess *Mḥt Wrt* emerged from *W3ḏ-wr* which is described as *ᶜḫm š* 'the divine lake'.[77] The god *Skr* of Illahun, the soul of Osiris, passes *W3ḏ-wr* to see the god Osiris in his lake (*š.f*).[78] This text differentiates between *W3ḏ-wr* which personifies the Fayoum region and its lake *š*. The previous text rooted in the hymns honoring Sobek Shedity[79] in pRamesseum VI of Twelfth/ Thirteenth Dynasties, in which Sobek, who will be replaced later by Sokar, goes on the road in the lake *š*, passing (*ḫns*) the *W3ḏ-wr* in order to find the body of his father Osiris.[80] However, the former text located the lake of Osiris, *š.f*, to the (*r gs rsy n ḥn.t*) southern side of *ḥn.t* of the lake; while, god Sokar rests (*ḥtp.f m nn-nsw.t*) in Herakleopolis, modern Ehnasia El Medina. This conclusion is also evident in another text;[81] Sokar of Illahun as mentioned above passes *W3ḏ-wr* to see Osiris in his lake, which is in the side of *ḥn.t* while he rests in Herakleopolis. Therefore, *gs rsy n ḥn.t* personifies the site of Illahun.

In the autobiographical text on the coffin of Ankhruty of the Thirteenth Dynasty or the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, he was entitled '*Wsir ḥ3ty-ᶜ ᶜnḫ rwty t3-š... imnty W3ḏ-wr*' 'Osiris, the mayor, Ankhruty of *T3-š* in the west of *W3ḏ-wr*'.[82] In spite of the above-mentioned evidences of the identification between *T3-š* and *W3ḏ-wr*, Ankhruty text located *T3-š* in the west of *W3ḏ-wr*. Ankhruty was also entitled '*Wsir ḥ3ty-ᶜ T3-š imy-r ᶜ3 W3ḏ-wr imy-r iw wp š*'.[83] Obviously, *ᶜ3 W3ḏ-wr* 'portal of *W3ḏ-wr*' equals *wp š* 'the beginning of the lake' and at the same time, we could assume that *r gs rsy n ḥn.t* indentifies both *ᶜ3 W3ḏ-wr* and *wp š*. Furthermore, *W3ḏ-wr* is also associated with *ym*. Some gods and goddesses, as mentioned above, came into existence from *W3ḏ-wr ym* .[84] In the Demotic text from the Eighth Century BCE onwards, Lake Moeris is known as *šy W3ḏ-wr n N3 nfr ir šty.t- šy wt wr*.[85] Notably, the Demotic texts differentiate between *W3ḏ-wr* as the name of the Fayoum region and *š- W3ḏ-wr* as the name of the Lake.

Finally, all *W3ḏ-wr* determinatives including , , refer to 'water'. As far as we know, *W3ḏ-wr* was not written, contrary to *Š*, *Š-rsy*, *T3-š*, and *Mr-wr* – with determinative.

4.3 *P3-ym*

'*ym*'[86] is originally a Semitic word adopted in Egypt from the New Kingdom, especially the Eighteenth Dynasty,[87] to indicate 'the sea'.[88] Gauthier[89] proposed different meanings of this word such as 'sea, river, canal, lake, pool, swamp, or a body of water in general'. Gardiner gave only the 'sea' meaning to the word.[90] Both Meeks[91] and Wilson[92] in their Dictionaries translated the word *ym* 'the sea' although Meeks translated Rammesside statement '*P3-im n š Sbk*' as 'the Lake of the Fayoum'.[93] Wilson agreed with Gauthier that the word *ym* bears the meaning of a large body of water such as a lake, a sea or a basin/ depression full of water.[94] In Demotic and Coptic literature, the word probably means a basin or a depression full of a liquid.[95]

Furthermore, *P3-ym* was sometimes used as a name for the entire Fayoum region.[96] Apparently, the name was used by the inhabitants of the Fayoum region as a name for their province. However, notably, it seems that neither Sobek nor any other deity worshipped in the Fayoum region are associated with *P3-ym*.[97]

During the reign of *Ramesses* III of the Twentieth Dynasty, *P3-ym* was mentioned

among the areas conquered by this king, and it was inhabited by the *Sherden* tribes. Moreover, inscriptions in Medinet Habu asserted that these tribes settled in the Fayoum region and took the title *Šrdn P3- ym.*[98]

In Demotic texts, the Fayoum region is known as *p3 tš n P3-ym* 'the name of *P3-ym*' (pHermupolis 1, 2 [b]; 2, 2 [b]; 3, 3 [a]; pLille Dem. 1, 32, 13; pCairo 2, 30623, 2 [b]; pOxf. Griffith 1, 28, 2),[99] *P3-ym*[100] or *ym.*[101]

In the *Book of the Faiyum*, *ym* appears in the myth of the heavenly cow, in which the goddess is said to come into existence in *W3d-wr* of *ym.*[102] It appears also in another text from the *Book of the Faiyum* that reads *p3 snty šmʿ n P3-ym n nṯr ir smi n P3-ym n nṯr* which means '*the foundation of the southern bank of the sea of god and making the strip of land of the sea of the god*'.[103]

5. Uncertain Names of the Fayoum Region

5.1 *Ỉw-Sbk*

Ỉw-Sbk may represent a name of the Fayoum region as Cwiek[104] suggested, or of a place that might be located in the region. On the other hand, a suggested opinion proposed that the significance of the name as the island of Sobek cannot definitely state that it is located in the Fayoum region.[105] *Ỉw-Sbk* appeared during the Old Kingdom, on a stela of *nṯr ʿpr.f*, the owner of the *mastaba* II/1 in Dahshur from the Fourth Dynasty which was found in the so-called Valley Temple at the Bent Pyramid.[106] It was also found in a Fifth Dynasty *mastaba* of *Kai-em-re* at Saqqara ⊗.[107] In two previous cases, *Ỉw-Sbk* was written with the 'town' ⊗ determinative; thus, it is uncertain to state it was the name of the entire Fayoum region.

5.2 *Bnt*

Although the location of *Bnt* is unknown, some scholars have associated it with the Fayoum region.[108] It may signify a name of the Fayoum region, or a name of a place that might exist in the region. Friedrich von Bissing and Edward Brovarski suggested that *Bnt* was a locality or an island in, or in the vicinity of, the Fayoum region.[109] However, Jean Vandier suggested that *Bnt* was an island in the vicinity of *Shedet*;[110] while Elmar Edel proposes that it was a place of ramification of Bahr Yusuf connecting the Nile.[111]

A scene in the solar temple of *Niuserre* at Abu Ghurab (Relief Berlin 20039), represents a crocodile, probably a reptile's mummy lying on the ground, with its head emerging from the mummy wrappings. It is located in a temple or an island known as *Bnt* and surrounded by water.[112]

Conclusion

This paper discussed the Fayoum region ancient names, and the texts in which these names occurred, their historical development, and their determinatives. As an outcome, an inventory including seven of the Fayoum region names *Š-rsy*, *T3-š*, *Mr-wr*, *W3d-wr*, *P3-ym*, *Ỉw-Sbk*, *Bnt* was reached.

All the Fayoum region names are linked to water existence; however, only three names - *Mr-wr*, *W3d-wr*, *P3-ym* - were written with , , water determinatives. Other names were written with either ⊗, , , or determinatives of which the last four determinatives were assigned for *T3-š* and the first two were often used for *Š* and *Š-rsy*.

In terms of Fayoum region names historical development, it is noted that, except the uncertain names, no one name replaced the other; for instance, *Š-rsy* continued during the Middle Kingdom despite the appearance of *T3-š*. Also, they continued into the

New Kingdom onwards side by side with *Mr-wr*, *W3ḏ-wr* and *ym*.

Discussions also revealed that *Š-rsy* and *Š-mḥty* are two administrative parts of *T3-š* at least during the Middle and New Kingdoms. In the text of Ankhruty and in the *Book of the Faiyum* of the Late and Ptolemaic periods, *T3-š* was identified with the southern part of *W3ḏ-wr*; while, *Mr-wr* was also identified with the northern part of *W3ḏ-wr ym*. Moreover, *W3ḏ-wr* and *ym* are in some texts written as identical geographical sites.

More importanly, it is clear from the historical development of the Fayoum region names that the most debating name is *Š-rsy*. This paper offered a concrete understanding to the development of this particular name. It is now obvious that from the Old Kingdom to the Eleventh/Twelfth Dynasties, it referred to the entire Fayoum region. However, at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and during the Thirteenth Dynasty, it probably composed, together with *Š-mḥty*, a half-part of *T3-š*. Furthermore, in the New Kingdom, *š* is identified with *Mr-wr* (Kom Madinet Ghurab) or a town in the vicinity of *Mr-wr*, and that *š* referred to the water-part of the region. Undoubtedly, the Fayoum region names are chaotic and overlapped, especially the names and titles associated with gods and goddesses. The issue that led to the study of these names is a real dilemma. For instance, Osiris is entitled '*Wsir ḥry-ib T3-š*', '*Wsir ity ḥry-ib T3-š*' or '*Wsir nṯr ʿ3 ḥry-ib T3-š*',[113] '*ḫnty T3-š*',[114] '*m T3-š*', '*ity m T3-š*', '*ity m W3ḏ-wr*',[115] '*ḥḳ3 W3ḏ-wr*', '*ḫnty Š*',[116] '*nb š.f*'.[117]

Notes

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1 H. Fekri, *et al.*, 'Holocene Geoarchaeology and Water History of the Fayoum', in: R. Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, UNESCO (Cairo, 2011), 117.

2 D. Arnold, 'Fajjum', *LÄ* II (1977), cl. 87-88; M. Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet. The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period* (Perugia, 2010),10; Fekri, in Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, 116f.

3 W.M.F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), 20, 38-39, pl. 16; Cwiek, 'Fayum in the Old Kingdom', *GM* 160 (1997), 19, no.16; Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 13f.

4 *Urk.* I, 3, 10; Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19; O. Ibrahim, I. Abd El-Sattar, 'Major Historical, Archaeological, and Religious Features of the Fayoum Region during the Old Kingdom', in: R. Pirelli (ed.), *Natural and Cultural Landscapes in the Fayoum*, UNESCO (Cairo, 2011) 140. For the meaning of this title, see: D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of The Old Kingdom*, II (Oxford, 2000), 668.

5 *Urk.* I, 2, 6; cf. also *i3t sbk* with the determinative of 'town'. *Urk.* I, 5, 4.

6 Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19, no.18; see also: H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C.* (New York, 1968), 3-5

7 This architrave fragment is preserved in Ontario Royal Museum in Toronto (958.49.I). It belongs to an unknown person.

8 Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, II, 669.

9 Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, II, 780; *Wb* III, 39, 8.

10 M.G. Fraser, 'The Early Tombs at Tehneh', in: H. Goedicke (ed.), *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht* (New York, 1971), 149-150.

11 Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19.

12 A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. II (Oxford, 1947), 115.

13 Cf. K. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 232. Uncertainly *š-rsy* was mentioned between the twenty first and the twenty second nomes of Upper Egypt Fraser, *ASAE* 3, 76; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389 in this list of nomes. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 232; Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19. The reason of uncertainity is that the sign *šmʿw* mistakenly written instead of *rsy*.

14 M.G. Fraser, 'The Early Tombs at Tehna', *ASAE* 3 (1903), 76; see also. A. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, *Commentary*, (Oxford, 1948), 44; F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches: Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, (Wiesbaden, 1986), 389.

15 A.H. Gardiner, 'The Name of Lake Moeris', *JEA* 29 (1943), 39f.

16 Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, 44.

17 A. Fakhry, 'A Forty Nights Digging at Madinet Qûta (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 904; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.

18 R.P. Charles, 'La statue-cube de Sobek-hotep gouverneur du Fayoum', *RdÉ* 12 (1960), 1ff; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 114*f; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 46; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.

19 Charles, *RdÉ* 12 (1960), 24; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 46.

20 G. Daressy, 'Rapport sur El-Yaouta (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 1 (1900), 44ff; cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 45f.

21 Brugsch, 'Der Möris-See', *ZÄS* 31 (1893), 18; Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 904; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.

22 Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 46, Anm. 2; Yoyotte, 'Processions géographiques mentionnant le Fayoum et ses localités', *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 104, Anm. 3; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.

23 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, V, 127.

24 S. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, I (London, 1897), 53.

25 Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 44.

26 Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 44f.

27 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, VI, 33; Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 903; Gardiner, *JEA* 29 (1943), 39f; *Onomastica*, II, 177*f; P. Montet, *Géographie de L'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1957), 206; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 104; Arnold, *LÄ* II, cl.87; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 388; M. Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum* (Imola, 2001), 236.

28 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236.

29 H. Wild, 'Quatre statuettes du Moyen Empire dans une collection privée de suisse', *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 107; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238; Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum, II, 83-87; M. Zecchi, 'Osiris in the Fayyum', *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 120-123.

30 L. Habachi, 'Vaste salle d'Amenemhat III à Kiman-Farès (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 37 (1937), 95, fig.10; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238.

31 Wild, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 92; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238.

32 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 237-238.

33 *Wb* V, 226.

34 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammer* (London, 1973), 593.

35 S. Farag, 'Une inscription memphite de la XII[e] dynastie', *RdÉ* 32 (1980), 80.

36 Habachi, *ASAE* 37, 95, fig.10.

37 S. Donadoni, 'Testi geroglifici di Medinet Madi', *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 512, 521; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 387.

38 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890), 18, pl.11, Nr.9.

39 Wild, *BIFAO* 69, 106ff, fig. 5, 107, pl. 20.

40 L. Habachi, 'Khatâ'na- Qantîr: Importance', *ASAE* 52 (1954), 463; M. Valloggia, 'Remarques sur les noms de la reine Sébek-Ka-Rê Néferou-Sébek', *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 46.

41 A.S. Griffith, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities of the XII and XVIII dynasties from Kahun, Illahun and Gurob* (Manchester-London, 1910), 32; M. Zecchi, 'The statue base Manchester 285 from Hawara', *Fayyum Studies* I (2004), 17-19; M. Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II (Bologna, 2006), 58.

42 For more Third Intermediate Period and Late Period texts mentioned *T3-š*, see: Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 135-152.

43 On an offering table preserved in Cairo Museum CG.23240 discovered in Hawara from the Ptolemaic Period, *T3-š* was written with [hieroglyph] determinative in a title of Sekhment (*sḫm.t m T3-š*) A. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes* (Cairo, 1909), 157; PM IV, 101; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 96.

44 *Wb* V, 226.

45 Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), pl. IV; P.R.S. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 56, pl. 35; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 70-71.

46 Petrie, *Hawara*, pl. V.2–V.6; 23, pl. V, 10; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 83-87.

47 According to texts of the *Book of the Faiyum*, the Fayoum region encompasses a canal which flows into *T3-š*. Both the canal and the lake are surrounded by cult-centers. Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 128.

48 Petrie, *Hawara*, pl. V. 5; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 85.

49 Petrie, *Hawara*, 21, pl. II.

50 H. Brugsch, 'Der Möris-See', *ZÄS* 30 (1892), 70; N. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire: je 48862-47089*, *MIFAO* 105 (Cairo, 1981), 80 [25], 25*, 15=10 76-79.

51 A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign List N.23, 488.

52 Moreover in the same text, *Biankhy* mentioned that on his way to *T3-š*, he found *pr Sḫm-ḫpr-Rᶜ*, a military

settlement most probably not far away from Lahun and Gurob and a part of the territory of Hierakleopolis and dates back to *Osorkon* I of the Twenty-Second Dynasty. Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 135.

53 *Wb* V, 226, 6-7.

54 *Wb* V, 226, 8.

55 *Wb* V, 226, 9-10.

56 H. Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Trismegistos Online Publications (Köln/ Leuven, 2008), 56; Vereth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD*, Trismegistos Online Publications (Köln/ Leuven, 2011), 379-80; G. Vittmann, 'Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration eines Heiligtums in Soknopaiu Nesos (pWien D 10100)', *Enchoria* 28 (2002-2003), 109-112

57 Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61, 116.

58 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. XXI; Brugsch, *ZÄS* 30, 70.

59 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 237-238.

60 *Wb* II, 97.

61 Brugsch, *ZÄS* 30, 72.

62 Arnold, *LÄ* II, cl.87-88; Gardiner, *JEA* 29, 37; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 30.

63 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géoraphique* III (Le Caire, 1925), 46

64 A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. I (Oxford, 1947), 62.

65 Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56, 59.

66 H. Beinlich, 'Der Moeris See nach Herodotus', *GM* 100 (1987), 15.

67 *Wb* I, 269.

68 *Wb* I, 269, 13-14; Montet, *Géographie de L'Égypte ancienne*, 206; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 239; Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 127.

69 A. Nibbi, 'A Note on the Lexicon Entry: Meer', *GM* 58 (1982), 53-58; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures. Egyptian personifications and Iconology of a Genre* (Waminster, 1985), 181-187; C. Vandersleyen, 'Ouadj our nesignifie pas 'mer' : que on se le dise!', *GM* 103 (1988), 75-80; C. Favard-Meeks, 'Le Delta égyptien et la mer jusqu'à la fondation d'Alexandrie', *SAK* 16 (1989), 50-58; C. Vandersleyen, 'Le sens de Ouadj-our (*W3d-wr*)', *BSAK* 4 (1990), 345-352; C. Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr. Un autre aspect de la vallée du Nil* (Brussels, 1999); Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127, no. 51.

70 Cf. Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr. Un autre aspect de la vallée du Nil*, 75; Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127.

71 Favard-Meeks, *SAK* 16, 50-58; Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127.

72 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 11, Nr.14; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 390; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 239.

73 Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2, 127.

74 Papyrus of Moeris Lake. R. Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris* (Turin, 1896); Papyrus Tebtunis. G. Botti, *La glorificazione di Sobk e del Fayyum in un papiro ieratico da Tebtynis. Analecta Aegyptiaca* 8 (Copenhague, 1959); The Book of the Fayoum. H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, *ÄA* 51 (Wiesbaden, 1991); H. Beinlich, 'Hieratische Fragmente des 'Buches vom Fayum' und ein Nachtrag zu BF Carlsberg', *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 1-22.

75 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 3, 9, 13; H. Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh* (Leipzig, 1878), 36-37; Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 148 line 107; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 242.

76 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 3, 9, 22; Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh*, 23; Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 152, line 141-142; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 242.

77 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 6, 17; Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 154, line 178; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 243.

78 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 8, 3; Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 140, line 30; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 244.

79 Sobek Shedity mentioned here was identified with Horus the son of Osiris in the Osirian Myth.

80 A.H. Gardiner, 'Hymns to Sobk in A Ramesseum Papyrus', *RdÉ* 11 (1957), 48-49, pl. 2, 51.

81 Lanzone, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, 2, 5, 1-3; Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997),140 line 129; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 241

82 Petrie, *Hawara*, 21, pl. II; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 65.

83 Petrie, *Hawara*, 23, pl. III, 4; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61, 91 no.2, Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, 65.

84 Brugsch, *ZÄS* 30, 23; Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997),150ff, 285.

85 Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56.

86 For more information, discussions and opinions about ym, see Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3d-wr*, ch.6 ff.

87 Stela of Thuthmosis III at Gebel Barkal. *Urk.* IV, 1233, 14.

88 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 556; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 47; Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, 206; Arnold, *LÄ* II, cl.87.

89 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* I, 167-169.

90 Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 7*.

91 D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, 3 vols. (Paris 1980-1982).

92 P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (Leuven, 1997), 129-30.

93 D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, III (Paris, 1982), 20.

94 Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 129-30.

95 Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 129-30; Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our W3ḏ-wr*, 94.

96 Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, 206; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 238f.

97 Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 238f.

98 Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 196*.

99 Vereth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD*, 379; Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56.

100 M.A. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung, neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayoum nach dem Papyrus Wien D.12006 Recto* (Wien, 2004), 47-84, col. 3, 12; 28; 29; 47-84, col. 4, 26, 30, 47-84, col. 7, 16; Vereth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts*, 379; Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56.

101 Vittmann, *Enchoria* 28, (2002-2003), 109-112; Vereth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts*, 380; Vereth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 56.

102 Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 150ff, 285.

103 Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 230f, 285; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 238f.

104 Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19.

105 Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 30-32.

106 Petrie, *Medum*, 20, 38-39. Pl.16; Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 30; R. Stadelmann, *et al.*, 'Pyramiden und Nekropole des Snofru in Dahschur', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 281, fig.14; Cwiek, *GM* 160, 19.

107 Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, 30.

108 Cf. Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 91.

109 F. von Bissing, 'La chambre des trois saisons du sanctuaire solaire du roi Rathourès (V^{e} dynastie) à Abousir', *ASAE* 53 (1956), 335-336; E. Brovarski, 'Sobek', *LÄ* V (1984), cl.996.

110 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II (Paris, 1955), 564.

111 E. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitsreliefes der 'Weltkammer' aus dem Sonnenheilgitum des Niuserre*, I (Göttingen, 1961), 219-220, fig. 4; II, (1964), 144-153; E. Edel, S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitsreliefes aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re* (Berlin, 1974), 23.

112 Von Bissing, *ASAE* 53,19; Edel and Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitsreliefes aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re*, pls. B, 15, 38, 40a; Brovarski, *LÄ* V, cl.997, fig. 3; Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*, 14.

113 Petrie, *Hawara*, 9, 23, pl. 5, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayoum*, II, 83-87.

114 Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 187.

115 Pap. Berlin 6750. G. Widmer, 'Un papyrus démotique religieux du Fayoum: P. Berlin 6750', *BSEG* 22 (1998), 86.

116 Pap. Berlin 6750. Widmer, *BSEG* 22, 86.

117 Beinlich, *ZÄS* 124 (1997), 368.

Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' or 'Lady of Mefkat' in the Nile Delta
Textual Evidences

حتحور في دلتا النيل: هل هي سيدة الفيروز أم سيدة مفكات؟
الشواهد النصية

Ahmed Mansour*

ملخص

عُثر على شواهد نصية تشير إلى عبادة حتحور سيدة الفيروز خارج شبه جزيرة سيناء، وهو المكان الطبيعي لممارسة شعائر تلك العبادة. ولقد عُثر على هذه الشواهد في أربع مناطق؛ هي: جبل أبو حصى، كوم أبو بلو، سرابيوم الإسكندرية، منطقة ماريا. ولقد وردت كلمة الفيروز أو مفكات بمخصصات مختلفة مما أدى إلى اختلاف آراء العلماء حول تفسيرها. وتناقش هذه الورقة البحثية هذه الشواهد النصية التي تشير إلى حتحور؛ بهدف الوصول إلى أرجح التفاسير الخاصة بدورها في دلتا النيل.

It has been noted that Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' was worshipped outside Sinai—the normal place where such adoration was practiced. This idea is probably accepted by a major part of the scholars. Nevertheless, the epithet 'Lady of Turquoise'[1] was found outside Sinai in four places, which chronologically date back to the period from Nineteenth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period. The aim of this paper is to explore the textual evidences of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' in the Nile Delta. In the meantime, the paper displays that such epithet 'Lady of Turquoise' was determined by two different signs, which leads to a possible different translation. This paper is not an exclusive list of the textual evidences of the occurrence of such epithet. It is an attempt to discuss the occurrence of such epithet in the Nile Delta.

Textual Evidences

The textual evidences where Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' was worshipped in the Nile Delta are:

- **Fragment of Stela found at Gebel Abu Hassa**[2]

  A fragment of the right half of the upper part of a round-topped stela. It was found in the Temple of Ramses II.[3] It is cut off limestone. It was discovered in the Temple of Gebel Abu Hassa. The text reads:

  Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt m[fk3t], 'Hathor, Lady of Tur[quoise]'.[4]

  Bib: PM IV, 53; L. Schmitt, 'Le temple du Gebel Abou Hassa', *BIFAO* 105 (2005), 357-358.

  Date: Nineteenth Dynasty

- **Sarcophagus of Kom Abu Billo**[5]

  A sarcophagus from the collection of Baron Amherst of Hackney, found in the Temple of Hathor, Kom Abu Billo.[6] The concerned phrase was engraved in the third column of the text. It reads:

  [7] *Sš irty n Ḥwt-ntr n Pr Ḥwt-Ḥr-nbt-Mfk3t* 'The priest Sesh-*Irty*[8] of the Temple of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat'.

  Bib: W. Spiegelberg, 'Zur geographie des XIX. unterägyptishcen Gaues' *OLZ* 4 (Berlin, 1901), 127, col. 227-229.

  Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Lid of the Sarcophagus of Hapmen, EABM 23**

  Ms n ỉḥy(t) n Ḥwt-Ḥr-nb(t)(M)fk(3)t 'Born of the Musician of Hathor, 'Lady of Turquoise'. It was discovered at the Serapeum of Memphis, currently is in the British Museum.

  Bib: *Description de l'Egypte*, tome V, pl. 24; L. Limme, 'Deux stèles inédites du Serapeum de Memphis', *CdE* 47 (1972), 100; W.C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton, 1935).

  Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Vatican Statue inv. 22689**

  Ḥwt-ḥr nb(t) Mfk3t 'Hathor, Lady of Mefkat'.[9]

  Bib: Turajeff, Boris 'Die naophore Statue Nr. 97 im Vatikan', *ZÄS* 46 (1909), 74–77.

  Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Donation Stela JE 30972, Cairo Museum**[10]

  It was found at the area of Mariout Lake,[11] and currently is conserved in the Cairo Museum.

  Rnpt 18 ḥr ḥm n Nswt-bity ʿ3-Ḫpr-Rʿ di ʿnḫ iw Krʿ ʿ3[12] *n Pr-ʿ3 W3š3tih3tiws3 n W3s3tilk3n3iw mwt.f Tints3h3liw ḥnk 3ḥt st3t 5 r Pr-n-Ḥwt-Ḥr-nbt-Mfk3t.*

'Year 18 under his majesty of Lower and Upper Egypt *ꜥ3-Ḫpr-Rꜥ* (Sheshonk V) endowed of life. The great shield bearer of the Pharaoh (King) Weshtihet son of Weheterkeni,[13] whose mother is Taseherihad offered of 5 aurora[14] of land to the Temple of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'.[15]

Bib: G. Maspero, 'Sur deux stèles récemment découvertes', *RT* 15 (1893), Fasc. I-II, 8486-; J. Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne, RAPH* 34 (Cairo, 2012), 36-37.

Date: Twenty-Second Dynasty

This Stela is a crucial masterpiece that refers to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' *i.e.* Kom Abu Billo. The city was named after Hathor; *Pr Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt mfkt* 'Hathor Residence, Lady of Mefkat'.[16] The Stela dates back to the reign of Sheshonk V, from the Twenty-Second Dynasty. It proves that the cult of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat, flourished in the western part of the Nile Delta in the first Millennium BCE. In addition, it concludes that Ptolemy I Soter rebuilt an ancient temple that was destroyed during the time of Sheshonk V. Furthermore, the donation stela reveals the powerful authority conveyed to the Libyans during the Third Intermediate Period.[17]

- **A raised relief represents Ptolemy I before Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' offering her incense**

Hathor holds her emblem: the papyrus scepter. However, only traces of such inscription are preserved; it may suffice to point out the ends of the two cartouches above the King which contained cartouche of Ptolemy I, followed by an invocation to the deity. In the column of inscription to the left of Hathor, it reads: her wish that she may take possession of the land *as far as the Great Green.*

It was discovered at Hathor Temple, Kom Abu Billo, and is in *Boston's Museum of Fine Arts.*

Bib: V. Bothmer, 'Ptolemaic Reliefs II: Temple Decorations of Ptolemy I Soter', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts,* vol. L, No. 218 (Boston, 1952), 51.

Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Epithet of Osiris**

Text: *Wsir Mrytḫnt (M)fk3t*[18] 'Wsir of the bank who is in front of Mefkat'. In some instances, the name of Mefkat loses the *m* at the beginning of the word *Fk3t* *Wsir-Mrytḫnt(m)fk3t* 'Osiris of the bank who resides in Mefkat'.[19] *Mryt*[20] is, probably, identified with the city of Marea, which lies at the south of Lake Mariout. Osiris of Mariout was connected with Hathor of Mefkat, and probably Osiris had a chapel in Mefkat. On a stela in the Museum Yverdon-les-Bains, Switzerland, Osiris is mentioned *Wsir-Mry nṯr ꜥ3 ḫnt* [*M*] *fk3t* 'Osiris of the bank who resides in Mefkat'.[21]

Bib: Montet, *Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 63.

- **Limestone statue of** *P3-Šr-n-Ptḥ* **'Psenptais I'**[22]

It was found at Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in the Greco-Roman Museum, no. 17533 and 17534.

sš n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbtmfk3t 'Scribe of Hathor Lady of Mefkat'.[23]

Bib: E. Breccia, 'Les fouilles dans le Sérapéum d'Alexandrie en 19051906-', *ASAE* 8, (1907), 65.

Date: Ptolemaic Period

P3-Šr-n-Ptḥ 'Psenptais I'[24] was contemporary with two monarchs of the Lagide family: Ptolemy V (204–181 BCE) and Ptolemy VI (181–145 BCE). He has two naophoros statues that were found by Breccia in the Serapeum of Alexandria. The two statues are now in the Greco–Roman Museum of Alexandria. The first is under no. Alex. 17533 and is made of basalt. The second is under no. Alex. 17534 and is made of basalt. Psenptais is represented standing, wearing the traditional robe of high priests of Ptah. He holds a naos in front of him. An inscription of three columns is engraved on the dorsal pillar that lists the different titles borne by Psenptais, of those is *sš n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbtMfk3t* 'scribe of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat.[25]

- **Torso of limestone statue of** *P3-di-B3stt* **'Petobastis I':**[26]

It was found at the Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in the Greco–Roman Museum no. 27806.

Text: *sš n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt mfk3t* 'Scribe of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat'.[27]

Bib: E. Breccia, 'Les fouilles dans le Sérapéum d'Alexandrie en 1905-1906', *ASAE* 8 (1907), 65.

Date: Ptolemaic Period.

P3-di-B3stt 'Petobastis I',[28] was contemporary with Ptolemy II (283–246 BCE) and Ptolemy III (246–222 BCE). A torso of his statue is conserved in the Greco–Roman Museum no. 27806, and is made of basalt. It was found during 1946, in the district of Ghorbal in Alexandria.[29] Psetubastis I was like 'Psenptais I' a scribe of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'.

The two priests exercised various functions such as god's father, Sem priest, Priest of Ptah in Memphis, Superintendent of confidential affairs in the domain of Ptah, Rostas, Serapeum, Rutiset,[30] and Scribe of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. The latter is an important title as it assumes the geographical sphere on which Psenptais I and Petobastis I exercised their sacerdotal duties. This assumption leads to an eventual sacerdotal connection between the clergy of Ptah at Memphis or Alexandria, and that of Hathor at Mefkat. We may conclude that the clergy of Hathor Temple at Mefkat (Kom Abu Billo) was dependent on that of Memphis. Moreover, the excellent location of Mefkat on the Nile facilitated the transportation between it and Memphis and Alexandria.[31] It is worth noting that the two priests are natives of Memphis not of Alexandria, although their two statues were found in the Serapeum.

R. Giveon believes that there was a temple dedicated to Hathor at Gebel Abu Hassa, on the way to Sinai.[32] The mention of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' in such a temple, dedicated to other divinities, is comprehensible as she is a divinity from the vicinity, she is the divinity of turquoise mines in Sinai. In addition, the expeditions passed by the temple site to reach the mines in Sinai. Therefore, a stela was dedicated to her.[33] During the Ramesside Period, it was common to use the route between Pi-Ramses and the Gulf of Suez. Such route started from the royal residence at the Eastern Delta, passing across Wadi Tumilat, passing either by Pi-Sopedu (Saft el-Henna)[34] or by *Ṯkw* (Tell el-Rataba)[35] heading southward to reach el-Markha plain,[36] then continues along the same route to reach the turquoise mines.[37] An inscription of Year 7 from the reign of Thutmosis IV reported an expedition sent to Sinai under the commandment of a certain Amenemhat who was *ḥry pḏt n Ṯkw* 'The commander of the archers of Tjeku'.[38] Consequently, a small chapel from the Ramesside Period, dedicated to Hathor, a stela from the reign of Seti I, and a stela from the

reign of Ramses II mentioning Hathor as a Lady of Turquoise, was found at Gebel Abu Hassa,[39] proving the importance of this route to cross the Peninsula.

On one of the reliefs known as 'neo-Memphite' in the Baltimore Museum, dating back to the mid of the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, a certain title is mentioned *ḫw w3ḏ*.[40] Such title occurs on sarcophagus EABM 23 which belongs to Hapmen in addition to his administrative and religious titles, of which *s(3)k ḥ3t* appears. On the other hand, his mother is *iḥyt n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt Mfk3t* 'Musician of Hathor, 'Lady of Mefkat' (Kom Abu Billo).[41] Consequently, such priest is attested exercising a cult to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' received a special cult exercised by a priest bearing the title *s(3)k ḥ3t* 'That who unites the superior part of the body'.[42]

Horus *Sm3-T3wy*, the child deity of Mefkat's triad, is also attested at Mefkat. A limestone block dating to the reign of Ptolemy I in the British Museum, reads: *Ḥr-Sm3-T3wy nṯr ʿ3 ḫntt Mfk(t)* 'Horus who unifies the two Lands, the great deity who is in front of Mefkat'.[43] The importance of Horus *Sm3-T3wy* in the city of Mefkat is assured by his mention on the stela Montgeron 2007. 4.[44]

The dedication of 5 auroras by a certain Weshtihet son of Weheterkeni, whose mother is Taseheri, is considered important evidence. Weshtihet was the great shield bearer of King Sheshonk V. His great dedication indicates the surface of the Temple. Moreover, the dedication, probably, refers that Hathor was a powerful divinity in the Western Delta, as she was worshipped by both Egyptians and Libyans.[45] The Libyans at Western Delta were of considerable power and control to be able to dedicate such a large surface of land. Furthermore, the epithet borne by the dedicator is quite questionable *ḳrʿ (n) Pr-ʿ3* 'The shield bearer of the Pharaoh'.[46] He is of Libyan origin, attached to the service of Sheshonk V, as a guide or chief of caravans.

Conclusion

The word *'nb(t) Mfk3t'* was written with the determinative of 'O49'.[47] Breccia translated it 'Lady of Turquoise', but the author believes that the correct translation is 'Lady of Mefkat, Kom Abu Billo', as the determinative refers to a place not to a mineral.[48] Finally, Giveon explains that this epithet does not have any relation with the Temple of Hathor, and at this late period, the epithet became general for the goddess without reference to mining. However, the author believes that the epithet retained its religious importance until the days of the Ptolemies.[49]

The oldest mention of such epithet dates back to the reign of Ramses II, from the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is found at the Temple of Gebel Abu Hassa, in the Eastern Delta. However, the oldest mention of the epithet Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' in the Western Delta dates back to the reign of Sheshonq V, from the Twenty-Second Dynasty.

During the Ptolemaic Period, a temple was re-built in favor of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. The determinative O49 is used either to refer to Hathor Temple or to Mefkat. Such a temple is probably among the few temples established by Ptolemy I Soter. There was a clergy devoted to her cult.

In addition, a triad composed of Osiris *Mryt*, Horus *Sm3-t3wy* shared the Temple with Hathor, since they were mentioned in different documents, for example stela Montgeron 2007.4.

Giveon and Yoyotte believe that due to the demise in turquoise mining during the reign of Ramses VI,

and the return of large numbers of miners looking for other opportunities in the Nile Delta, it was perhaps due to those workmen that the cult of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' spread in a number of places in the Nile Delta. In addition, Montet suggests that Hathor was a powerful deity whose worship flourished in the Nile Delta. This worship was spread over all parts of the Nile Delta because of her followers who worshipped her in the Western part, as well as her worship in the Eastern part.

Finally, I believe that the two epithets are different, as the two deities are of different forms. Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' is the principal deity of Mefkat, Kom Abu Billo. She has a particular form worshipped under epithet 'The Golden' or 'The Golden had come'.[50] Sometimes, she is represented with a cow's head. She is related with the local mythology where she was decapitated, and her head was replaced by Thot. She played the same role of Isis, as was represented in the middle of the triad on the stela of Montgeron.[51] Meanwhile, Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' was mentioned once in the Eastern Delta in Gebel Abu Hassa. It has no relation with the Western toponymy Mefkat. In some instances, the orthography of the word '*mfk3t*' was determined by O49 or N33. The use of determinative refers either to the town of Kom Abu Billo, or to the mineral itself.

Following table shows the attestations of the epithet Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' in the Nile Delta.

	Document	Place of Discovery/Conservation	Date
1	Circular-topped stela	Gebel Abu Hassa	Nineteenth Dynasty
2	Sarcophagus from the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney	Temple of Hathor, Kom Abu Billo	Ptolemaic Period
3	Lid of the Sarcophagus of Hapmen	EABM 23	Ptolemaic Period
4	Vatican Statue no. 97.	Vatican Museum	Ptolemaic Period
5	Cairo Museum	Donation Stela JE 30972	Twenty-Second Dynasty
6	A raised relief	BMFA	Ptolemaic Period
7	Epithet of Osiris		
8	Two limestone statues of are [hieroglyphs] *P3-Šr-n-Ptḥ* 'Psenptais I'	Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in Greco-Roman Museum, nos. 17533 and 17534.	Ptolemaic Period
9	Torso of limestone statue of [hieroglyphs] *P3-di-B3stt* 'Petobastis I'	Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in Greco-Roman Museum, no. 27806	Ptolemaic Period

Notes

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1 Hathor was represented in Serabit el-Khadim as [hieroglyphs] *nbt mfk3t* 'Lady of Turquoise' in different textual forms. She was ascribed as 'Lady of Turquoise' or 'Lady of Turquoise land'. Inscriptions are also found at 'Ayn el-Sukhna which was a stop in the long road to Serabit el-Khadim. The inscriptions mentioned the Royal orders to send an expedition to bring turquoise, copper and all the good products of the mountain. Similarly, at Serabit el-Khadim, the epithet 'Lady of Turquoise' appeared in the reign of Amenemhat I without the determinative of 'foreign country'. In another example from Serabit el-Khadim, she was mentioned as Hathor [hieroglyphs] 'Lady of lapis-lazuli' as in IS102, since the two precious stones (turquoise and lapis-lazuli) were linked together, and was mentioned consecutively in other inscriptions in Dendera Temple. See: Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* II (London, 1955), 86; Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20 (Fribourg, 1978), 65.; M. Abd el-Raziq, G. Castel, P. Tallet, V. Ghica, *Les inscriptions d'Ayn Soukhna, MIFAO* 122 (Cairo, 2002), 40; D. Valbelle, Ch. Bonnet, *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor, maîtresse de la turquoise Sérabit El-Khadim au Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1996); A. Mansour, *Turquoise in Ancient Egypt: Concept and Role, BAR* 2602 (2014).

2 A Ramesside temple was discovered in the area between Qantara and Gaza. This temple was dedicated to Hathor and Horus. The site was, firstly, excavated by J. Clédat. However, in recent years, Lionel Schmitt re-excavated it, and revealed a shrine housing the great divinities of Ancient Egypt as well as the Asiatic god, Rechepou. It is probable that such a temple was designated as a frontier temple between the Nile Delta and foreign lands. L. Schmitt, 'Le temple du Gebel Abou Hassa', *BIFAO* 105 (2005), 357-358.

3 E.D. Oren, 'Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta', *BASOR* 256 (1984), 7-44; J. Seguin, *Le Migdol du Proche-Orient à l'Égypte, Les institutions dans l'Égypte ancienne* 3 (Paris, 2007), 90-115.

4 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20, 66.

5 It lies north of Khatatba and south-west of Menuf, at 60–70 km from Cairo. It is famous for its Greco-Roman necropolis; however, its origins date back to Pharaonic times. S. Dhennin, 'Térénouthis – Kom Abou Billou : une ville et sa nécropole', *BIFAO* 111 (2011), 106.

6 In 1887-1888, the late F.L.I. Griffith excavated the site, which lies at 4023 km south of Kafr Dawoud. During his excavation, Griffith found in both Kom Abu Billo and Terranah some limestone blocks that formed together part of a Temple wall of Ptolemy I. The Temple was principally dedicated to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. F. Ll. Griffith, 'The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh, and Miscellaneous Work in Lower Egypt During the Years 1887-1888', in: E. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (London, 1890), 60-64, pl. XX; V. Bothmer, 'Ptolemaic reliefs II: Temple decorations of Ptolemy I Soter', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts,* vol. L, No. 218 (Boston, 1952), 51. Such a temple was probably a temple of Hathor that might date back to Ramses II. It is assumed that the Temple was reconstructed during the reign of Ptolemy I. R. Caminos, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50 (1968), 92. Nowadays, a French mission is carrying on excavations under the supervision of Sylvain Dhennin.

7 The determinative [hieroglyph] (O49) is used either to refer to Hathor Temple or to Mefkat.

8 The Sesh-*Irty* priest is still of unknown functions. According to Prof. Paolo Gallo, the title could be translated as 'the priest who does what should be done'. Personal communication with Prof. Paolo Gallo during the lectures of Egyptology Master at Turin University, 2009. However, Prof. el-Sayed Mahfouz suggested to translate it 'Scribe of *irty* priests'. Personal communication with Prof. el-Sayed Mahfouz.

9 Spielberg, *OLZ* 4, 228, no.6; Griffith, in: Naville (ed.), *The Mound of the Jews*, 62.

10 The Stela was first translated by Maspero. However, Yoyotte retranslated it and corrected some mistakes. I adopted the translation of Yoyotte.

11 PM IV, 6; Y. Koenig, 'Notes sur la stèle de donation Caire JE 30972', *ASAE* 68 (1982), 111-113; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* II, (2007), 276-277.

12 Under this title see: *Wb* V, 59; Nagel, 'Un papyrus funéraire de la fin du Nouvel Empire [Louvre 3292 (inv.)', *BIFAO* 29 (1929), 6-7; A. Gardiner, 'The Dakhleh Stela', *JEA* 19 (1933), 27.

13 The names of the Chiefs of the Rebu can be divided into two groups: those that adopt Egyptian names (In-Amun-nifnebu, Ankh-Hor, Tjerpet, Tefnakht) and those whose names continue to appear to be foreign (Niumateped, Titaru). The names of the Rebu are differentiated from those associated with either the Meshwesh or Ma. W. Cooney, *Egypt's Encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity*, (PhD, Durham University, 2011), 304. Available at Durham e-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/910/.

14 About 1, 375 hectares.

15 J. Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne, RAPH* 34 (Cairo, 2012), 36-37.

16 J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, 1961), 64.

17 The History and Geography of the Rebu References to the population known to the Egyptians as the Rebu begin quite suddenly during the reign of Ramesses II. The sudden appearance of Rebu in Egyptian sources, however, provides us with no indication as to their origins. While the Egyptians often encountered this group to the West of Egypt, in the region they know as Tjemehu-land, there is no indication that the Rebu originated from this region, and the close association which this group had with other so-called Sea Peoples suggests that they are most likely associated with this larger heterogeneous population group of equally mysterious origin. W. Cooney, *Egypt's encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity*, (PhD, Durham University, 2011), 167–168. Available at Durham e-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/910/.

18 For the omission of the prefix '*m*', cf. Ph. Collombert, *GM* 227 (2010), 21.

19 Ch. Leitz, *et al.*, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* V, *OLA* 111, 547; Montet, *Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 63.

20 The city could be identified with Naukratis as its name is *Pr-Mryt* . See: Montet, *Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 65; F. Leclère, *Les villes de Basse Égypte au 1er millénaire av. J.-C.* I, *BdE* 144/1 (2008), 113. Cf., 'Naukratis Stela', *JdE* 34009 l. 10. However, Demeulenaere differentiates between Osiris of Mariot and that of Naukratis *Pr-Mryt*. Cf. De Meulenaere, 'Cultes et sacerdoces à Imaou (Kôm el-Hisn) au temps des dynasties saïte et perse', *BIFAO* 62 (1962), 162.

21 J.-L. Chappaz, 'Une stèle de Basse Époque au Musée d'Yverdon', *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 96.

22 J. Quaegebeur, 'The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priest Family in the Hellenistic Period', in: J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica* 24 (Louvain, 1980), 50, 68.

23 E.A.E Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I, *ÄA* 38 (Wiesbaden, 1981), 108, 114.

24 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford, *et al.*, (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica* 24, 50, 68.

25 Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I, *ÄA* 38, 105.

26 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford *et al.* (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica* 24, 50, 72.

27 Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I, *ÄA* 38, 108, 114.

28 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford *et al.* (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica* 24, 50, 72.

29 H.S.K. Bakry, 'A family of High Priests of Alexandria and Memphis', *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 75.

30 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford *et al.* (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica* 24, 48-49, and n. 4.

31 Bakry, *MDAIK* 28, 77.

32 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20, 66.

33 Schmitt, *BIFAO* 105, 383.

34 S. Aufrère, J.-Cl. Golvin, J.-Cl. Goyon, *L'Egypte restituée, Sites et temples des déserts* II (Paris, 1997), 244.

35 H. Godeodick,'Tjeku', *LÄ* VI, 609.

36 P. Tallet, 'Notes sur la zone minière du Sud-Sinaï au Nouvel Empire', *BIFAO* 103 (2003), 475; G. Mumford, S. Parack, 'Pharaonic ventures into South Sinai: el-Markha plain site 346', *JEA* 89 (2003), 83. Wadi Tumilat constituted a traffic route of choice between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. This a deep, steeply-sloping Wadi, that runs from East to West, between the Eastern side of the Upper Delta, and the Lake of Timsah. The Wadi is a strip of land of 58 km, situated between Saft el-Henna and Ismailiya; and it represented a corridor of easy access between the Delta and the central and southern part of the Sinai Peninsula. See: D. Fabre, *Seafaring in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2004), 67; El-Sayed Mahfouz, *La politique des souverains du Nouvel Empire au désert oriental*, (Ph.D Diss., University of Lille III, 2002), 440.

37 هشام محمد حسين حامد، لوحات الدولة الحديثة في منطقة سرابيط الخادم، دراسة تحليلية (رسالة ماجستير، جامعة حلوان، ٢٠٠٧)، ١٠؛

Mumford, Parack, *JEA* 89, 89.

38 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20, 60.

39 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20, 66; Schmitt, *BIFAO* 105, 369.

40 L. Limme, 'Deux stèles inédites du Sérapeum de Memphis', *CdE* 47 (1972), 99.

41 Limme, *CdE* 47, 100.

42 Limme, *CdE* 47, 101; Daressy, *ASAE* 16, 229, l. 12.

43 Bloc EA 652, cf. *PM* IV, 68; Griffith, in: Naville, *The mound of the Jews*, 62, no. 8.

44 S. Dhennin, 'Une stèle de Mefkat (Montgeron 2007.4', *RdE* 63 (2012), 67-82.

45 During the reign of Sheshonkides, there were many high officials of Libyan origin. For example 'The ruler of Dakhleh Oasis'. Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 27; Yoyotte, *RAPH* 34, 34.

46 *Wb* IV, 59, 12-14; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (2004), 126. However, Maspero translated it : 'Le grand convoyeur' *i.e.* 'The chief of caravans'. See: Maspero, '*Recueil de travaux* XV, 84-86.

47 E. Breccia, 'Les fouilles dans le Sérapéum d'Alexandrie en 1905-1906', *ASAE* 8, (1907), 65.

48 Notice that the word *mfk3t* was written in the same orthography, with two different determinatives: ⊗, which refers to a toponym, and ooo that refers to a metal. According to the classifier system adopted by Goldwasser, in the first example, the word *mfk3t* takes a metonymic classifier ⊗ to indicate the 'Land of Turquoise/Mefkat i.e. Kom Abu Billo', meanwhile the second example takes a taxonomic classifier ooo to indicate turquoise itself. Cf. Orly Goldwasser, 'A Comparison between Classifier Languages and Classifier Script: the Case of Ancient Egyptian'. The early orthographic examples for the word *mfkAt* are found at both Wadi Maghara and Serabit el-Khadim. The word was written [hieroglyphs] (*Denkm*, II, 116 *a.* 137 *i. g. h*). The forearm was added later to make a ligature with the *m*, to be [hieroglyphs], or [hieroglyphs]. (Lepsius, *Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes*, 35; Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS95, IS323). The word *mfk3t* witnessed an orthographic change; it was written with the complement (*t* ⌓), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 1; Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS23, IS94b, IS345) [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS51, IS56, IS74, IS78, IS303), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 2), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 2), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 3; Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, IS313), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 3), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 4; Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexicon*, 421), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 4), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS26, IS47, IS48, IS519), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS58, IS72), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS121, IS132), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS155), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, IS104, IS112). On the other hand, it was mentioned in some other texts without the complement (*t* ⌓) as *mfk* [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 57-58), [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexico*, 421), or *fk3t* [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, IS123A, IS423), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS120), or *fkt* [hieroglyphs] (Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 638), [hieroglyphs] (*Wb* II, 56, 1; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 421), or with the sign (▭) [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS302, IS295), or with (forearm with hand holding bread [hieroglyph]) [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS317b), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS408, IS421, IS426), [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS426, (R &L) or *k3t* [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS502), or *ftk* [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS267), occasionally, the determinative 'stone' ▭ accompanies the word in its feminine form (Lepsius, *Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes*, 36). The word was written during the Old Kingdom as *mfk3t*, then in the Middle Kingdom *mfk3t*, and in the New Kingdom *mfk(t)*, and sometimes the word *mfk3t* occurs terminating with determinative [hieroglyph], which is dedicated to designate place and foreign land. [hieroglyphs] (Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I, IS17, IS27, IS28).

49 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20, 67.

50 Daressy, *ASAE* 16, 228 (4) et 229 (16-17).

51 Dhennin, *RdE* 63, 70-71.

On Ancient Egyptian Philology

بعض الملاحظات على علم الفيلولوجي في اللغة المصرية القديمة

Alessandro Roccati*

ملخص

تأتي هذه المداخلة لإبداء بعض الملاحظات على ورقة بحثية تم نشرها في مجلة *ZÄS*،

(S.D. Schweitzer, 'Zum Lautwert Einiger Hieroglyphen', *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 132-149). تعقب هذه الورقة على النقطة الأخيرة في المقال المذكور، وهو الفرق بين التحليل الصوتي الذي أفرزته العلامات التصويرية، وتطور هذه العلامات في مرحلة اللغة القبطية.

This essay is due to a recent paper that has been published in the *ZÄS*, a sanctuary of modern Egyptological philology.[1] As a result, I present a defence of the ancient Egyptian philology, discussing especially the last point it dealt with, which is the difference between the phonetic analysis that ancient sources provide a logogram, and its unexpected Coptic outcome.

is listed in the Wörterbuch as *whm*: the first and last consonants are often (especially the last one) specified in writing by uniliteral signs. The middle one, very seldom indeed, is consistently rendered by the sign *ḥ*, and this disagrees with the established phonetic rules. Accordingly, the Bohairic Coptic outcome **ⲟⲩⲱϩⲙ** would require an *h*-sound, namely the one registered in the Wörterbuch. Although in a Pyramid Text a thorough phonetic spelling, as *wḥm*, was provided, this feature was explained by Lacau as an error by of the craftsman, who would have replaced by . Indeed, this kind of error is not exceptional, see: S. Hassan, *Giza I* (Oxford, 1932), 92 where '*nfr*' replaces '*b*' mistakenly beyond any doubt.

This issue was raised again and again by additional examples of replaced by , and never by , perhaps owing to the resemblance of the vertical signs.[2] Now Schweitzer attempted to dismiss them in the same way Lacau did with the Pyramid Text, assuming that the requirements of phonetics are stronger than the skills of any craftsman.

Even if I too am concerned by the antinomy between the written evidence of hieroglyphs and the Coptic outcome, and cannot find any satisfactory explanation, however, I must draw attention to the nature of the hieroglyphic documents, whose testimony cannot be simply dismissed, lest some important cultural implications are overlooked.

The Pyramid Texts provided just one example; therefore, it could be attributed to ignorance of the stonecutter. Otherwise it ought to be admitted that the stonecutter was aware of his task to the point of being able to replace a logogram () with the required (middle) consonant in a full phonetic writing of the word.

It is observed that the latter possibility is not far-fetched. Why this was done by the craftsman is not apparent, whether consciously or not, but it was repeated throughout the history of hieroglyphic writing.

Let us turn our attention to the case of the Saite Period. It was too easy for Schweitzer to dismiss the example from the Theban tomb of Sheshonq (TT27), owing to the confusion between both sounds (*ḥ*/*h*) in the Late Period, which had already started perhaps during the Ramesside Dynasties.[3] What Schweitzer failed to consider, is the knowledge and the awareness displayed in the monument of an outstanding learned man, who lived in the heart of the Egyptian culture during its Renaissance. The wall in the entrance staircase where the concerned word was beautifully engraved displays a collection of ancient sentences mostly reproduced by means of a kind of alphabetic rendering, regardless of the shape and pronunciation they had in older times.[4] There is no reference to Pyramid Texts. It would be strange that such a learned man, wanting to write 'alphabetically' , would be incorrect in choosing the correct *ḥ*!

At this point the example from the Second Intermediate Period, coming from a provincial town as Gebelein, would say the final word. It is on a fragment from a private stela, where the text runs in horizontal lines, and the expression *wḥm n ꜥnḫ* 'Repetition of life' is spelt *wḥm* with uniliteral signs only. Once more it would be very odd that the incorrect *ḥ* was chosen by an ordinary speaker in a not particularly erudite environment, while the choice never fell on .

A written example from the chapel of a private mastaba of the Fifth Dynasty, would be even

older than the one quoted in a Pyramid Text,[5] but it has been disregarded through a different interpretation of the involved words. However, the reading *wḥm* may not be certain here, though the reading proposed by Altenmüller *ḥmsi* is altogether questionable, a confusion of *s/z* sounds could likewise be exceptional at that time. The paronomasia in that instance with *ḥmww* 'craftsman' is similar with the reading *ḥmsi* as well, but I also pointed out a palindrome of *wḥm* with *mḥw* in the Middle Kingdom, again supporting the *ḥ* sound.[6]

Gardiner had already envisaged a solution of the problem with Coptic, showing that some transformation of the sound *ḥ* into *h* could have occurred since the Ramesside times.[7] Anyhow, we should be much more confident about the knowledge and precision the ancient Egyptians were accustomed to, albeit from a different perspective from ours.

Back to the Saitic example of Sheshonq, one should place its occurrence in its cultural environment. The inscription on the right side wall of the access stairs is an outstanding attempt to render ancient biographical clichés through a new application of the hieroglyphic writing adapted to the model of contemporary alphabets (both Aramaic and Greek).[8] That performance, not unusual in the Late Period, was not without remembering the way of writing in the Old Kingdom, especially in the Pyramid Texts, where the components of a logogram were quite often spelt individually. Most likely the learned people in the Late Period, inspired by the spread of contemporary alphabets,[9] had forgotten the syllabic nature of the ancient 'uniliteral' signs, similar to the structure of the coeval cuneiform writing.[10] Much like a modern Italian can read the words of a Latin text, which are often written exactly the same, according to the rules of modern Italian orthography, but these do not correspond entirely to the Latin ones.

The absence of written vowels may not have embarrassed those learned people, who could check only consonants, because the same was a customary occurrence in the fashionable North-West Semitic alphabets, although in the writing of some foreign personal names some hieroglyphs were redefined to express vowels.

In my opinion, this was the main difference between the phonetic spellings of *wḥm* in the Pyramid Age and the Late Period. In comparison to them, the Coptic outcome may have represented a phonetic development in the current speech.

Eventually none of the writers of the phonetic occurrences of *wḥm* were aware of any other, and could not be influenced by any known model, as far as we know, but they reproduced individually every time the same spelling. It is now unlikely to question whether it was established each time according to the actual pronunciation or school rules. In any case, no doubt remains about the very nature of the logogram.

Notes

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1 S.D. Schweitzer, 'Zum Lautwert einiger Hieroglyphen', *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 132-149: 146 *wḥm*.

2 *CT* II 379 *whm* (determined by the flame) has nothing to do with *wḥm* 'repeat', and is a mere variant of *whn* (*Wb* I 345, 15); but Schweitzer shows that it can be also spelled later *wḥm*, cf. note 7 below.

3 In an unpublished Turin Papyrus of that period *wḥm* plays with *thm*, cf. note 7.

4 A. Roccati, 'Ricerche sulla scrittura egizia II – L'alfabeto e la scrittura egizia', *Or.Ant.* 26 (1987), 73-87; Idem, Ricerche sulla scrittura egizia VI - Traduzioni grafiche in egiziano: *Faraoni come dei, Tolemei come faraoni (Atti del V Congresso Internazionale italo-egiziano)* (Torino-Palermo, 2003), 40-43.

5 G. Roquet, '*Wḥm*, verbe plein et semi-auxiliaire. A propos d'une inscription d'Ancien Empire', *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 487-496 : 489.

6 A. Roccati, ' se lit *wḥm*', *RdE* 25 (1973), 254-255.

7 A.H. Gardiner, 'Minuscula Lexica', *Ägyptologische Studien H. Grapow gewidmet* (Berlin, 1955), 1-3:3; A.H. Gardiner, 'Remarques sur la particule démotique *hmy*', *CdE* 60 (1955), 288-293:290. See note 2 for the opposite interchange.

8 A. Roccati, 'Le iscrizioni della scala', *Or.Ant.* 12 (1973), 23-37.

9 A. Roccati, 'The alphabet(s) at a turning point: A view from Egypt: *Moving across Borders. Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean*', in P. Kousoulis, K. Magliveras (eds.), *OLA* 159, (Leuven, 2007), 327-335;

10 A. Roccati, 'Ricerche sulla scrittura egizia – VII. Il sillabario e la scrittura egizia', *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 142 (2008), 55-65.

Analysing Current Egyptian Displays in the United Kingdom

تحليل المعروضات المصرية الحالية في المملكة المتحدة

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ملخص

يوجد بالمملكة المتحدة عدد من المتاحف التي تمتلك مجموعة مميزة من الآثار المصرية تتركز في حوالي ١٧ متحفًا. على الرغم من وجود ما لا يقل عن ٢٠٠ مجموعة تحتوي على معروضات مختلفة من الحضارة المصرية، فإنه في السنوات القليلة الماضية قد بُذلت عدة محاولات لتحديد ومقارنة المعلومات للحصول على نظرة فاحصة تتعلق بطبيعة المجموعات المصرية. هناك عدة عوامل يمكنها أن تحدد وتؤثر في طريقة ونمط عرض وتوضيح المعروضات. أهم هذه العوامل التي لها تأثير كبير على أسلوب عرض المعروضات المصرية هو سيطرة فكرة الموت والحياة؛ نظرًا لأن معظم المقتنيات جاءت من مقابر وجبانات. وقد استخدمت أساليب توضيحية مساعدة عند عرض المعروضات المصرية، لعل أهمها هي البطاقات التعريفية الملحقة بكل قطعة من المعروضات. وتوجد أيضًا وسائل إرشادية أخرى تتمثل في النشرات والكتيبات. كما كان لاستخدام التكنولوجيا دور هام متمثل فيما يُعرض من أفلام ومقاطع فيديو. واستخدمت عدة متاحف أسلوب اللمس لتعليم وتثقيف زائريها، هذا بالإضافة لاستخدام أساليب الإضاءة كوسيلة إيضاحية مساعدة.

'The UK has a large number of excellent museums with remarkable Egyptian collections. Reading about them is one thing, but there is no substitution for seeing the real things'.[1]

Introduction

Despite there being over 200 collections in the UK containing Egyptian material, it is only within the last few years that attempts have been made to actually locate and collate this information to gain insights into the state and nature of Egyptian collections in the UK. Since 1988, the British Museum has been researching this topic, sending questionnaires to museums, institutions, universities, schools and historic houses across the UK to discover information about the Egyptian and Sudanese objects they have on display or in storage.[2] In 2006, The Petrie Museum in London, funded by the MLA researched and compiled a report entitled *Past, Present and Future: an Overview of Ancient Egyptian and Sudanese Collections in the UK.*[3] Based on the results of a survey sent to curators across the UK, it contains information on the scope and content of Egyptian collections currently in the UK. An analysis of this report's statistics reveals that:

- 195 collections containing Egyptian material were traced in the production of the report.
- The report presents the following figures for the approximate number of objects in UK collections: England 348,000; Scotland 18,275; Wales 5,500; Northern Ireland 2,000.
- 93% of the ancient Egyptian objects located in the UK are concentrated in only 17 collections and the remaining 7% are distributed between 178 collections dispersed across the UK.

England holds the highest number of Egyptian objects, and a distribution map reveals the greatest number of objects is in Greater London, which has 167,110.[4]

Methodology

We chose to look at 20 Egyptian displays across the UK and compiled analysis sheets which helped us to look at the displays and analyse how they were created and presented. We also created a questionnaire which had numerous questions regarding the interpretative techniques used in the displays, and asked 100 Museum visitors to fill these in.

Case Studies

Galleries and exhibitions from the following 19 sites were chosen for the study:

Name of Museum/display	Location	Type	No of Egyptian objects
The British Museum	London	National	110,000
The Science Museum	London	National	1387
World Museum	Liverpool	National	18,000
Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery	Bristol	Local	10,000
Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery	Birmingham	Local	7898
Brighton City Museum & Art Gallery	Brighton	Local	1,300
New Walk Museum & Art Gallery	Leicester	Local	500

Swansea Museum	Swansea	Local	200
Bushey Museum	Herts	Local	?
Petrie Museum, University of Central London	London	University	80,000
Garstang Museum, University of Liverpool	Liverpool	University	?
Manchester Museum, University of Manchester	Manchester	University	16,000
Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge	Cambridge	University	7,000
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford	Oxford	University	?
The Egypt Centre	Swansea	University	5321
Tutankhamen & the Golden Age of the Pharaohs	O2 London	Independent	116
Tutankhamen & Mummies Exhibitions (2)	Dorchester	Independent	123
Highclere Castle	Berkshire	Independent	500
Horniman Museum	London	Independent	850

The table above illustrates the chosen case study displays, which have been divided into four categories: National, Local/Provincial, University and Independent.[5] This has been done intentionally as one of this project's objectives was to see if the 'type' or category of museum or venue-influenced display and approaches to interpretation. An attempt has been made for an equal distribution of displays within the categories where possible.[6]

Our conclusions are based on data compiled and collected from gallery analysis record sheets and staff questionnaires which we created. We have then used these as evidence for our examination into the analysis of current Egyptian displays in the UK.

Results and analysis of displays of Egyptian collections in the UK as a whole

There are many factors that can affect and determine the display and interpretations of collections. However, Egyptian displays are governed by one main factor. Nearly all displays of Egyptian artefacts in the UK are dominated by objects representing death and the afterlife. This is because the majority of Egyptian objects that have survived have been recovered from burial and tomb sites. Objects used in Egyptian daily life do not exist in the same capacity, sometimes being quite rare.[7] Therefore, one could argue that the predominance of burial objects presents a selected version of Egyptian culture, not representing or providing a full accurate record of life in ancient Egypt, but edited highlights. Archaeologist Gemma Tully also believes this to be the case, asking 'Was there more to life in ancient Egypt than the preparation for death? Looking at most Egyptology shows, you wouldn't think so'.[8] In order to discuss the results from data from the case studies we chose to examine them via a set of criteria used by historian Stephanie Moser in her pioneering analysis, of past Egyptian displays at The British Museum.[9] In her display analysis, Moser identifies the following criteria:

1. How much space is dedicated to presenting the collection.
2. Where the collection was located in the museum.
3. How it was structured and organised.
4. The manner in which objects were displayed and spatially arranged.
5. The architectural and interior settings they were featured in.

6. The interpretive aids that were used to present them.

Due to the lack of space this essay sadly only has time to look at the final one on Moser's list of criteria: The Interpretative aids used to present Egyptian displays.

Also please note that most display names will be abbreviated due to lack of space, e.g. Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery will often be referred to simply as Bristol.

Interpretive aids used in Egyptian displays in the UK

Text panels and object labels are still the most commonly used method of interpretation in museums today, yet there are many ways in which written information is used in exhibitions. These include hand-outs, books, guides, as well as more creative uses of text. Several new galleries, including those at Bristol and Liverpool, have chosen to integrate captions and quotations from ancient historical documents and sources, inviting discussion within the galleries. Some displays are attempting a multi-layered approach to information that focuses on object and imagery rather than text. Indeed, Bristol City Museums' new gallery is unique as it contains no object labels, all the information being available on adjacent touch screens; thus, computers become information rich, layered graphic panels.[10]

Computer and digital interactives are used in just under half of the case studies, and tasks include unwrapping virtual mummies and writing names in hieroglyphs.[11]

Other media technology is used in Egyptian displays in the UK, including video and film, projections, sound effects and music. Different sounds are used in several displays. The O2 Exhibition has a different ambient musical soundtrack in each room reflecting the tone and mood of that particular section. At World Museum Liverpool visitors can 'Listen to a 3500 year old voice!', as a sound wall displaying hieroglyphics produces animal noises and other voices which help the text to be translated. On entering the Egypt Gallery in Bristol, visitors hear whispers of Egyptian names all around them, as though they are entering the realm of the Underworld with spirits of Egypt's past nation all around them.

One way we interpret the world is through our bodies and, in particular, through our senses.[12] The sense of touch is often used by museums as a medium through which to educate visitors, its successful didactic elements being used in many museums today.[13] Younger children especially learn through play whether dressing up, using props or playing games and other hands-on activities. Participatory devices are used in exactly half of the displays investigated. These include puzzles, question flaps and drawing activities. Both the Egypt Centre and Bushey Museum include a dummy mummy and other toys in their galleries. At Highclere Castle, visitors can 'Do Some Excavating' in a makeshift archaeological sandpit complete with seven artefacts to discover. At the Egypt Centre, visitors have the chance to play with a huge scale version of the Egyptian board game Senet. Museums in Egypt clearly also believe in the constructivist ideas of the power of play and touch to engage younger visitors. Above the entrance to The Children's Museum, Luxor, is an Arabic proverb which reads:

> 'If I hear I may forget, when I see I will remember, but when I do with my hands I will understand'.[14]

In the final gallery of the O2 Tutankhamen exhibition, visitors are invited to 'Touch the Boy King' through touching a bronze cast of the famous Pharaohs' reconstructed head. Here, visitors who have been unable to touch any other object in this art-based

approach exhibition can at last through touching this object, become close to the King himself. This object should have been positioned as the very last object which visitors touched on their way out, almost as a parting gesture of admiration to the Boy King, whose objects they had just spent two hours looking at. Instead, it was badly positioned being hidden in a corner with hardly any visitors noticing it.[15] Replicas can also provide access to objects that are too fragile to travel and can be touched and handled by visitors.[16] Thirteen out of the twenty Egyptian exhibitions investigated use them in their displays. Some provide teaching tools; others help to fill in gaps in the narrative and provide visitors the chance of seeing a famous object normally residing in a display abroad. Reproductions can also be seen as representations of craftsmanship, human ingenuity in their own right[17] and the Tutankhamen Exhibition in Dorchester is very proud of their facsimiles of the famous King's treasure:

> 'All the exhibits have been carefully crafted by meticulous reference to the original artefacts, photographic records, detailed measurements and diagrams'.[18]

Results also reveal that nearly half of the displays within the study use the interpretive device of historical scene reconstructions in Egyptian galleries. These include a tomb chapel at Liverpool, a workman's tool bench and 'your dream kitchen' in Leicester and an underground burial grave revealed through a glass floor area complete with grave goods at Brighton. However, the venue that uses this interpretive idea the most is the Tutankhamen Exhibition in Dorchester where visitors can see the moment when Howard Carter breaks through the wall to reveal the treasure. Exterior and interior scenes of the antechamber and the actual burial chamber complete with golden sarcophagus are also recreated, for here 'sight, sound and smell combine to recreate in superb facsimiles the world's greatest discovery of ancient treasure'.[19]

Lighting is also used to aid interpretation. At Leicester and Swansea, light is used to internally illuminate large wall light boxes on which mummy X-rays are shown. In the O2 Exhibition coloured lighting is used very dramatically, creating colour symbolism reflecting the nature and content of the gallery themes. Providing contrast from dark to lighter areas, red coloured gels are used in the area titled 'Revolution'. Even a replica gold treasure dazzles with lighting effects cleverly emerging from the darkness through spotlighting in Dorchester.

Exhibitions must also be physically accessible to visitors. Museums have many different types of visitors, and all should be accommodated for. Visitors' with visual and hearing impairments are sadly often not catered for. However, The British Museum, the Egypt Centre and the Fitzwilliam have Braille books, labels and large print books in their galleries, thus endorsing the guidelines for accessible exhibition design suggested by the Smithsonian Institute.[20] Wheelchair users also need consideration. Ideally, labels should be mounted at a height suitable for standing and sitting levels; however, only a few displays such as the Fitzwilliam and Birmingham do this. The O2 Exhibition cleverly placed labels high up at the top of showcases to allow more visitors to see. Most museums in the UK do not cater for foreign visitors, having only English text; however, Egyptian displays at Swansea Museum and the Egypt Centre had labels and panels in both English and Welsh.

Many of the above interpretative aids support both Behaviourist and Constructivist approaches to learning. Twelve case studies have both elements within their display strategies. However, thirteen of the displays reflect a transmission mode of communication with the other seven displays having elements of both transmission and cultural modes. Interestingly, all University displays endorse the transmission mode while most of the local museums use both modes of communication in their displays.

To conclude, Egyptian displays in the UK until recently tended to be similar in their traditional didactic approach. However, museums and galleries are now using new and innovative approaches in their displays, and many technological advances are being used to interpret Egyptian collections. Many museums recognise the popularity of their Egyptian objects and many more are planning to update their displays. There is no doubt that visitors in the UK share with the Egyptians themselves a great passion for their history, and will wish to see objects from your great country. How future displays of Egyptian material will be displayed in the UK will remain to be seen, but no doubt, our admiration and fascination will continue forever...

Notes

** Independent researcher.

1 B. Partridge, 'Editorial', *Ancient Egypt Magazine,* August/September (2008), 4.

2 Much of this information is now accessible having been placed on a website which provides useful knowledge about collections in the UK www.cornucopia.co.uk.

3 The primary aim of the project was 'to make information about the content and scope of Ancient Egyptian and Sudanese collections in the UK fully publicly available for the first time'. It was also hoped the information produced would assist the newly formed ACCES network (Association of Curators for Collections from Egypt and Sudan) in their planning of increased access to such material.

4 The overall percentage of collections which currently exist on display in the UK is very low, there being a high percentage of collections which have no objects at all on permanent display.

5 These categories follow the ones used in J. Thompson (ed.), *A Manual of Curatorship: A Guide to Museum Practice* (London, 1984) which describes the different types of museums in the UK.

6 The choices of displays were governed not by a particular strict rationale but by a variety of factors including fame, popularity, wanting to see brand new ideas and locations, which due to time and money, was a big restraint, sadly preventing the chance to visit many museums in several parts of the UK.

7 Though many displays do include daily life objects, many were found in tombs, often not actually used but placed near the deceased for use in the afterlife

8 G. Tully, 'Was There More to Life in Ancient Egypt than the Preparation for Death?', *Museums Journal,* November 2007, 18-24.

9 S. Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at The British Museum* (Chicago, 2006), 32, 48.

10 P. Locker, 'Putting on a Show', *Museums & Heritage* 1 (2007), 19.

11 Bushey Museum, World Museum Liverpool, The Egypt Centre and the Petrie Museum all offer opportunities for visitors to write their names in hieroglyphs.

12 Author Susan Pearce argues our contact with objects starts with our bodies and extends to the world of things. See Anon. PG Dip/Masters degree in Museum Studies by Distance Learning *Module 2. Objects of Interpretation* (Leicester: University of Leicester, Department of Museum Studies, October 2005).

13 The Science Museum, The Egypt Centre and Manchester Museum all organise 'Egyptian Touch Tables' and 'Object Handling Sessions' allowing visitors to experience objects close up.

14 A. Wahby, 'A Special Workshop for Children in Luxor Museum', *Ancient Egypt Magazine,* April/May 2007, 35.

15 According to the designer I spoke to, they did not want to include this statue, but had to as it was part of the sponsor's agreement. The designers themselves, however, hated it and therefore placed it round a corner and out of the way of most visitors' immediate vision!

16 A.M. La Pensée, 'Replicating an Egyptian Relief', *Ancient Egypt Magazine*, Dec. (2005)/Jan. (2006), 45.

17 La Pensée, *Ancient Egypt Magazine*, 45.

18 M. Ridley, *Tutankhamen Exhibition Guide* (Dorchester, 2007), 14. This is the only display outside Egypt to include accurate replicas of the gold death mask and Tutankhamen's mummy.

19 Leaflet from the Tutankhamen Exhibition, Dorchester, date unknown.

20 The Smithsonian Institute Guidelines For Accessible Exhibition Design. http://www.si.edu/opa/accessibility/exdesign/sectionb.htm#ldt, p.6. These guidelines suggest that 'label design must present main exhibitions copy legibly for all visitors and that such exhibition label information must be available within the galleries in alternative formats, e.g. Braille.

A New Light on Coptic Cryptography

عرض جديد للكتابات الطلسمية القبطية

Hind Salah-Eldin*

ملخص

تعد الكتابات الطلسمية القبطية أحد أهم مظاهر الخط القبطي؛ وذلك نظرًا لما يمكن أن تكشف عنه من أسرار هذا الخط، كما تلقي بمزيد من الضوء على تاريخه وعلى حياة الرهبان المصريين الذين استخدموه خصيصًا في العديد من الأهداف والأغراض المتنوعة؛ فقد استخدم الرهبان الأقباط الكتابة الطلسمية القبطية لإخفاء الصيغ المختلفة في الشروح والكتابات والرسائل التي تداولوها خلال حياتهم الرهبانية. ولقد تم تسجيل ما يقرب من ثلاثين نموذجًا حتى الآن من الكتابات الطلسمية القبطية، والتي توزعت ما بين الكتب الدينية المختلفة، أو على جدران وأعتاب بعض الكنائس والأديرة، وكذلك على بعض الصخور والأحجار المتفرقة فوق التلال المنتشرة في الصحاري المصرية.

وتهدف هذه المقالة إلى نشر قطعتين فريدتين من قطع الشقافة القبطية من الصحراء الغربية المصرية، واللتين تحتويان على بعض نماذج الكتابات الطلسمية القبطية. ولقد جاءت الشقافة الأولى من متحف الحضارة بالقاهرة والتي تحمل رقم ٤٠٨. ومن الجدير بالذكر أن هذه القطعة تُمثل واحدة من مجموعة الشقافات القبطية التي تحصَّلت عليها من متحف الحضارة من أجل إعداد أطروحة الدكتوراه الخاصة بي وهي قيد النشر حاليًا. أما القطعة الثانية فقد جاءت من ناتج الحفائر التي جرى تنفيذها في منطقة الدير البحري عام ١٩٢٦، وهي محفوظة حاليًا بالمتحف القبطي بالقاهرة، وتحمل الرقم ٤٥٦٣.

وتحمل هاتان الشقافتان صيغًا فريدة من الكتابات الطلسمية القبطية. وتكمن الأهمية فيهما أنهما تلقيان بالمزيد من الضوء على أنظمة الكتابة الطلسمية القبطية، وكذلك على حياة الرهبان في الصحاري المصرية خلال العصر المسيحي.

Coptic cryptography is one of the most important aspects of the Coptic script, for it can reveal its secrets, shed light on its history as well as the lives of the Egyptian monks who used it for different aims and purposes. Only about thirty examples of Coptic cryptography have been recorded so far which were scattered in religious books, the walls and the doorposts of churches and the monasteries, as well the cliffs of the Egyptian deserts.

The aim of this paper is to publish two unique Coptic ostraca from the Western Desert of Egypt which contains some forms of the Coptic cryptography; the first one is from the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC) under the number 408;** the second one came from the excavations at Deir El-Bahari in 1926, and is now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo under the number 4563.

O. 408: (Plate I)

Provenance: Qurna.

Material: Ribbed Pottery.

Color: Reddish Brown.

Dimensions: L = 7cm, W = 7.8 cm.

General Description: The text partly is in a good condition of preservation, because the ostracon had been broken from the upper left side, which in turn has damaged the text there. Also, there are some scratches on the surface of the ostracon, which has damaged some parts from the extant text, especially between the second and the third lines. Accordingly, the text is not complete; it only comprises six lines of writing which were rendered by the scribe in black ink in a regular, clear handwriting.

Text:

1-]		ⲇ			ⲏ	ⲑ	ⲓ	ⲕ
2-]		ⲋ	ⲉ	ⲇ	ⲃ	ⲁ	ϥ	ⲡ
3-]		///	ⲟ		ⲡ		ⲥ	
4-]	ⲝ	ⲛ	ⲗ		ⲕ	ⲣ	ⲱ	
5-	ⲩ	ⲫ	ⲯ		ⲱ			
6-	ⲭ	ⲫ	ⲧ		ⲥ			

Comment:

Subject: This ostracon holds an exercise for the first system of Coptic cryptography. The First system of the Coptic Cryptography was a familiar system which was used by the Copts in writing their texts. It was borrowed from a Greek system which was based on the division of the Greek alphabet into three portions and then inverting the letters of each row to replace the normal row by the inverted one as follows: α β γ δ ε ς ζ η θ becoming θ η ζ ς ε δ γ β α, i.e.; the Greek letter α replaced by θ, β replaced by η, and δ replaced by ζ and so on as follows:[1]

ⲁ = ⲑ	ⲓ = ϥ	ⲣ = ϯ
ⲃ = ⲏ	ⲕ = ⲡ	ⲥ = ⲱ
ⲅ = ⲍ	ⲗ = ⲟ	ⲧ = ⲯ
ⲇ = ⲋ	ⲙ = ⲝ	ⲩ = ⲭ
ⲉ = ⲉ	ⲛ = ⲛ	ⲫ = ⲫ
ⲋ = ⲇ	ⲝ = ⲙ	ⲭ = ⲩ
ⲍ = ⲅ	ⲟ = ⲗ	ⲯ = ⲧ
ⲏ = ⲃ	ⲡ = ⲕ	ⲱ = ⲥ
ⲑ = ⲁ	ϥ = ⲓ	ϯ = ⲣ

Dialect: The dialect of the text can be either Sahidic or Bohairic because the extant text displays

(Plate I) O. 408.

only the Coptic letters of the Greek origin without the borrowed native Demotic alphabet.

Line 1: The scribe did not write an equivalent for the Coptic letter ⲉ in the second line, and he did not write the stigma over its equivalent in the second line, i.e. the Coptic ⲗ.

Line 3: 'The Coptic vertical Cryptogram Nu' ///: As the first system of Coptic Cryptography was not able to modify ⲉ, ⲛ, and ⲫ which were located in the centre of each row, so they were either left as they are or they were replaced with Cryptogrammic ones; for instance, the Coptic letter ⲛ was replaced with /// 'Coptic Vertical Cryptogram Nu' as has been stated on this ostracon while the Coptic letter ⲉ was replaced with 'Coptic Horizontal Cryptogram Eie'.[2] But here the scribe encrypted only the Coptic letter ⲛ and left the rest of the two letters, i.e. ⲉ and ⲫ as they are.

Line 4: The scribe did not write the Sampi ϯ in the third line over its equivalent, i.e. the Coptic letter ⲣ in the fourth line.

Conclusion

This ostracon had revealed some remarkable results:

1- The importance and significance: This ostracon is important for the study of the Coptic Cryptography because it contains a clear evidence for what we can call 'A Key' for the scribe rendered the original letter over its crypto-graphical equivalent. As far as I know, this ostraca is unique, for only about thirty published examples of Coptic cryptography texts have been recorded until now as had been mentioned above, and no one of them holds this 'Key' by this form, but further studies and publications in this field will reveal other texts like this 'Key' because this type of text served as an exercise by the writer to himself or to someone in order to memorize the alphabets in their Crypto-graphical form.

2- Date and provenance: To determine the date and provenance of this ostracon, I depended on the results that were obtained from the PhD research. In fact, this ostracon belongs to a community of monks who lived since the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century at Sheikh Abd El-Qurna, probably in TT 85 or TT 87, the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Amenemhab and Nakhtmin, or the area around them. This community revered two superiors among them: Father Ananias and Father Pisrael. They were well known characters who lived in Thebes since the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century. The community

contained some personalities involved with Father Ananias and Father Pisrael in various matters, i.e. in religious and daily matters as, for example, 'Andrew' ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ 'Enoch' ⲉⲛⲱⲭ 'Elizabeth' ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲃⲏⲕ, 'Benjamin' ⲃⲛⲓ, 'Shenoute' ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 'Petronius' ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲛⲓⲟⲥ, 'Frange' ϥⲣⲁⲛⲅⲉ, 'Anoute' ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 'Patermouthius' ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 'Papnoute' ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 'George' ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ 'Samuel' ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ, 'Isaac' ⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲕ, 'Zachariah' ⲍⲁⲭ ⲁⲣⲓⲁ, 'Arianous' ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ, 'Ebraham' ⲉⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ and 'Bes' ⲃⲏⲥ, in addition 'Johannes' ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ, 'Pesenthius' ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧⲉ 'Ananias' ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ 'Peter' ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, 'Victor' ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ. Thus, this ostracon was a cultural aspect for the Coptic monks who were teaching themselves the First System of Coptic cryptography in their solitary life, and also maybe it was written by either Father Ananias or Father Pisrael or some welcomed monk from the community who lived at Qurna, or these two tombs, and that he wrote this ostracon as an exercise for the First system of Coptic cryptography for him in order to learn by heart the letters of the Coptic alphabet in this form.[3]

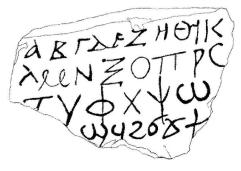
O. 4563: (Plates II-III)

Provenance: Deir El-Bahari.

Material: Limestone.

Color: Yellowish.

Dimensions: L = 8 cm, W = 10.5.

General Description: The text is in a good condition of preservation. It is complete, and was written on both sides of the ostracon: the recto and the verso. The recto comprises four lines of writing which were written by the scribe in black ink, while the verso comprises four lines of writing which were written by the scribe in black ink as well as red ink, and the latter was used specifically at the beginning of the third and the fourth lines. The scribe has a good, regular, and clear handwriting.

(Plate II) O. 4563 (Recto).

Text:

Recto:

1- ⲁ ⲃ ⲅ ⲇ ⲉ ⲍ ⲏ ⲑ ⲓ ⲕ

2- ⲗ ⲙ ⲛ ⲝ ⲟ ⲡ ⲣ ⲥ

3- ⲧ ⲩ ⲫⲭ ⲯ ⲱ

4- ϣ ϥ ϩ ϭ ϫ ⳁ

Verso:

1- ⲁ̄ⲱ̄ ⲃ̄ⲯ̄ ⲅ̄ⲭ̄ ⲇ̄ⲫ̄

2- ⲉ̄ⲩ̄ ⲍ̄ⲧ̄ ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲑ̄ⲣ̄

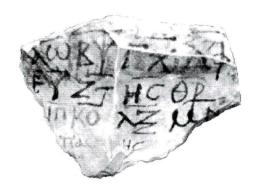
3- ⲓ̄ⲡ̄ ⲕ̄ⲟ̄ ⲗ̄ⲝ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄

4- ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲣⲏⲥ[

Comment:

Subject:

Recto: The Coptic alphabet.

Verso: The Coptic numerical system which was borrowed from the encoded Greek numerical system

(Plate III) O. 4563 (Verso).

for numbers based on the principle of attaching a numerical value to the letters of the alphabet which runs as follows:[4]

1= α	10= ι	100 =ρ
2= β	20= κ	200= σ
3= γ	30= λ	300= τ
4= δ	40= μ	400= υ
5= ε	50= ν	500= φ
6= ς	60= ξ	600= χ
7= ζ	70= 0	700= Ψ
8= η	80= π	800= ω
9= ϑ	90= ϙ	900= ϯ or: ⲁ

Dialect: Sahidic.

Verso:

Line 1-2: It is notable that the scribe rewrote some letters, for we can see some traces of writing above the first line and at the background of the second line, but unfortunately, the latter has disappeared. As for the former, it is still visual, and by examining it revealed that the faint traces over the end of the first line were the Coptic letters ⲉⲩ ⲍⲧ which were then written by the scribe in their right order at the beginning of the second line.

The scribe did not write the Stigma ς for 6, the Qobba ϙ for 90, as well the Sampi ϯ for 900.

Conclusion:

This ostracon is very interesting. It holds in its recto the complete Coptic alphabet which can imply that the scribe was learning by heart the alphabet of the Coptic script according to his dialect. For it was common between the Egyptians and not among the monks only, in the Christian time, to do so as a kind of memorizing. The verso holds the serial of the Coptic alphabet as well the Coptic numbers respectively: the units, the tens, and the hundreds as follows:

ⲁω 1+800	Bψ 2+700	Γχ 3+600	ⲇφ 4+500
ⲉⲩ 5+400	ⲍⲧ 7+300	ⲏⲥ 8+200	ⲑⲣ 9+100
Iπ 10+80	ⲕⲟ 20+70	ⲗⲝ 30+60	ⲙⲛ 40+50
Π ⲁ 80, 1	C o 200, 70	P 100	ⲏ ⲥ 8, 200

In fact, it is obvious from the recto and the verso combined together the fact that the scribe was learning by heart the Coptic alphabet as well the Coptic letters' numerical values. I want to add a supposition here concerning verso, i.e. the Coptic numerical serial. I think that the scribe was not only aiming to memorize the value of the Coptic letters as numbers, but also he aimed at the significance behind the numbers, and this latter is a science in the Bible by itself. This supposition has come to my mind according to some points which can be classified as follows:

1- There is a unique recorded example from the Monastery of Epiphanius on which the Coptic letters of the Greek origin were used as a long key for the First System of Cryptography as mentioned above, through a conventionalized phrase as follows:

ⲁⲃⲣⲟⲭⲉⲓⲇⲱⲛ ⲧⲟ ⲫⲩⲗⲁⲝ ⲑⲏⲣⲁⲍⲩⲅⲱⲕⲁⲙ ⲯ ⲓⲙⲉⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ

αβροχιτων δ ο φυλαξ ϑηροζυγοκαμψιμετωποζ

This was the Grotesque formula from *Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina* (Book IX, No. 538), and it was transcribed below it as follows:[5]

ⲑⲏⲍϛⲉⲅⲃⲁ ϙⲡⲟⲝⲓⲛⲙⲓⲗⲕϡⲱⲯⲭ ⲫⲩⲧⲥ

Thus the scribe of this verse aimed to use the twenty-four letters of the Greek origin to render a sentence with a specific meaning. This happened in our ostracon also because the scribe did not write the stigma ϛ for 6, the qobba ϙ for 90, as well the sampi ϡ for 900, and preferred the twenty-four letters only without the added letters which were used to indicate the numerals 6, 90, and 900.

2- The scribe used red ink when he alerted himself by the repeated numbers, i.e. at the beginning of the third line he wrote the group ⲓ̅ⲡ̅ and ⲕ̅ⲟ̅ in red ink because they have the same numbers with the same significance and not the same values, with the group ⲁ̅ⲱ̅ and Ⲃ̅ⲯ̅.

3- The scribe did not mean by his significance the numerical added value of the two letters that he grouped them under a superliner stroke because although the numerical value of the first group ⲁ̅ⲱ̅ is 1+ 800 is 801, which corresponds to the dove as both the value of its letters Ρεριστερα and the value of the two letters as numbers is 801 and also the ⲁ̅ⲱ̅ is the famous symbol of the Christ as the beginning and the end of the world from (Revelation 22:13) 'I am the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end' the rest of the numerical values has no significance in the Bible, i.e. the values 405, 504, 603 has no significance.

4- I presume that the scribe meant the significance behind the unit number, and thus I gathered the closest significances to my work from many sources from that field as follows:[6]

Number One:	Unity, New beginnings, The One God
Number Two:	Union, Witnessing
Number Three:	Divine Perfection
Number Four:	Creation of the world or the Creative works
Number Five:	Grace of God
Number Six:	Application of works, Manifestation of sin
Number Seven:	Completeness or Father perfection
Number Eight:	New birth or New beginning
Number Nine:	Divine Completeness, Eternity

So I suppose that the numbers can be read as follows:

a- ⲁ̅ⲱ̅: The one of the New beginning of the world's end. i.e. The God Father.

b- Ⲃ̅ⲯ̅: The two in perfection i.e. the Second person of the Trinity or the God and the Son in their perfection.

c- ⲅ̅ⲭ̅: The third (three) in totality, i.e. the Holy Spirit or the Trinity (Son and the Father-the Holy Spirit) in one person.

d- ⲇ̅ⲫ̅: The creation of the Earth by the Grace of God.

e- ⲉ̅ⲩ̅: The Redemption of the world.

f- ⲍ̅ⲧ̅: The application of the work of the Trinity.

g- ⲏ̄ⲥ̄: The New beginning of the Second.

h- ⲑ̄ⲣ̄: The Eternal God.

Then the scribe alerts himself by red ink as the reading is to be repeated again through.

ⲓ̄ⲡ̄: The New Beginning of the One God Father.

ⲕ̄ⲟ̄: The Second in perfection.

ⲗ̄ⲝ̄: The Third (three) in totality.

ⲙ̄ⲛ̄: The creation of the Earth by the Grace of God.

Then the scribe at the end of his text added seven letters as follows:

Ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲣⲏⲥ i.e. 80, 1, 200, 70, 100, 8, 200.

Regarding that, the scribe used seven numbers in which the number seven represents perfection. It is worth noting here that the scribe wrote the first five letters in red ink and the last two in black ink, and this when he alerts himself by the repeated numbers which can be read as follows: The first part (i.e. five letters) ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲣ; the New beginning of the one God, the Second in perfection, one in totality, while The Second part (i.e. two letters) ⲏⲥ; can be read as follows: The new beginning of the God and the Son. So, it is obvious now that the repeated numbers have the same meaning and significance with the repeated ones in red ink. Moreover, by a careful look at the meaning of the sentences, we will notice that the scribe aimed to express his Orthodox faith, and thus he chooses to begin by the ⲁ̄ⲱ̄ which was the traditional phrase since the fourth century in connection with the Christological debates that were settled at the Council of Nicaea when the Council sanctioned their use as an expression of the dogma that Christ is of like substance with the father.[7]

Finally, as for the date of the ostracon, the paleographical point of view supposes that this ostracon can be dated approximately between the seventh and the eighth centuries, especially from the shape of the Coptic letters ⲁ, ⲃ, ⲉ, and ⲟ.[8]

General Conclusion

Both ostraca are of great importance for the history of the Coptic Script, as well as the Christian communities and their cultural aspects in Western Thebes in the Western Desert of Egypt, for they can shed light on the life of the Coptic monks in their solitude, in addition to the systems of scripts they preferred to use during the Christian period.

From these two ostraca besides the published ones in the field of the Coptic cryptography, one can advance some hypotheses: first of all, the First System of the Coptic Cryptography was frequently used among the Christians in the Christian time. Secondly, the Coptic exercises can hold significance behind the letters and the numbers, and this will be proved from further publications and excavations. Finally, Egyptian monks in that part of the Desert, i.e. the Western Desert of Thebes, were connected with a mutual system of learning in order to communicate with each other in their daily lives and their faith, and that they were concerned with teaching themselves and the neighborhoods around them the Coptic language with its forms, as well as the Christian religion.

Notes

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** It is noteworthy to mention here that this ostracon is one of my group of Coptic ostraca that I had obtained from the NMEC Museum to be as the subject of my PhD thesis which is entitled 'A Group of Coptic Ostraca from Thebes-Publishing and Analytical Study', Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University.

1 F. Wisse, 'Language Mysticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts and in Early Coptic Monasticism I: Cryptography', *Enchoria* 9 (1979), 103-104; J. Doresse, 'Cryptography', *CE* 8 (1991), 65-66; J. Doresse, 'Cryptographie copte et cryptographie grecque', *BIE* 33 (1950-1951), 215-228; F. Megally, 'Numerical System, Coptic', *CE* 6 (1991), 1820-1822.

2 Doresse, *CE* 8, 65; R. Kasser, 'Prolégomènes à un essai de classification systématique des dialectes et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonétique, I, Principes et terminologie', *Muséon* 93 (1980), 66.

3 V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paleographie* (Heidelberg, 1936), 7-8; H. Winlock, W. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* I (New York, 1926), 133 137; Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* II; Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester* (= P.Ryl.Copt.), (Manchester, 1909); A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Koptische Ostraka*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 2000); W. Crum, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben). Textund Indices* (= KRU), (Leipzig, 1912); A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Koptische Schenkungsurkunden aus der Thebais. Formeln und Topoider Urkunden, Aussagen der Urkunden, Indices* (Wiesbaden, 2001); A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigungägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen, Koptische Studien* I (Würzburg, 1983); K. Worp, 'A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt', *ZPE* 100 (1994), 283–318; T. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor, 2002); T. Wilfong, 'Western Thebes in the Seventh and the Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jeme and its Surroundings', *BASP* 26 (1989), 89-145; H. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraca, Stelae, Etc. in the British Museum* (London, 1905); M. Krause, 'Correspondence of Bishops', *CE* 1 (1991), 400- 402.

4 Doresse, *CE* 8, 65; F. Wisse, *Enchoria* 9, 104.

5 Doresse, *CE* 8, 65 f.

6 W. Girgis, 'Greek Loan words in Coptic', *BSAC* 20, (1971), 65 ff; H.L. Willmington, *Book of Bible Lists*, (London, 1987); G. Bonnie, *Begenings and the Sacred Design* (USA, 2000); Z. Kiss, 'Symbols in Coptic Art', *CE* 7, 2160-2171.

7 Kiss, *CE* 7, 2160.

8 V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paleographie* (Heidelberg, 1936), 8-10.

Lasso and its Role as Nets in Religious Texts

الأنشوطة ودورها كشبكة في النصوص الدينية

Magda Gad*

ملخص

هناك العديد من الكلمات التى تشير إلى الفعل 'يقيد' أو إلى 'أسماء الأدوات' التي بها يتم تقييد كل ما هو غير مرغوب فيه في النصوص المصرية. هذه الكلمات تنقسم إلى قسمين؛ الأول: ما يتم ترجمته بالقيود أو 'يربط بالحبال والقيود'. الثاني: حمل المعنى 'الصيد عن طريق الأنشوطة'، وهو الهدف من هذه الدراسة.

يذكر Ogdon في مقالته: J.R. Ogdon, 'Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought, III. Knots and Ties. Notes on Ancient Ligatures', *DE* 7 (1987), 29. 'إن الأنشوطة هي من أكثر الوسائل المستخدمة التي بها يتم شل حركة العدو سواء في العالم الأول أو العالم الآخر لانتزاع قوته'. وبغض النظر عن هذا الدور، فإن هذا البحث يهتم في المقام الأول بالأنشوطة كأداة تستخدم عوضًا عن الشبكة في الصيد. ومن خلال دراسة النصوص والمناظر يمكن القول إن الأنشوطة كانت تستخدم فقط في:

١– صيد الموتى:

أ– صيد الموتى أثناء الصعود للسماء.

ب– استخدام الأنشوطة لتحويل المذنبين لأماكن العقاب.

ج– صيد الموتى وتقديمهم كوجبة للملك.

٢– صيد أعداء الآلهة:

أ– صيد أعداء الإله أوزير.

ب– صيد أعداء الإله رع.

Many words referring to the action of to 'tie', or to the 'names of the tools' with which any undesirable things could be bounded, were used in the Egyptian texts.

These words could be classified into two categories; the first of which are the words that could be translated into 'bonds or fetters' and as also 'to tie or to bind with ropes or bonds'.[1]

The other is that which bears the meaning of 'to lasso or to capture/constrain with the lasso' next to the previous meaning and which is to be the focus of this study.

In his article, Ogdon has mentioned that 'lasso', which was a prehistoric 'weapon' as an element of the chase-equipment,[2] is one of the most recurrent means to paralyze the action of an enemy whether of this or the Otherworld; and this opinion depends on his interpretation of the word 'lasso' as 'any tied cord that binds'.

So, the essential function of the lasso is to 'tie' the prey,[3] to immobilize its movement, deprive of its power, to make it impotent and unable to act.[4]

Apart from that role; the current paper is mainly concerned with the 'lasso' as an instrument, used instead of the 'net', whereby one can catch.

Accordingly, to that, and through studying texts and scenes, it can be concluded that Lassoes are confined and involved only in:

1. Catching the deceased.
2. Catching the enemies of the gods.

1. Catching the deceased

The dangers that face the deceased being caught, are not confined to nets,[5] but also to lassoes; one of the ways used by fishermen, fowlers and hunters[6] to capture fish, birds, and animals.

The soul of the deceased is exposed to be lassoed, as is the case with the net, in many incidents, the first of which is:

1.1 Lassoing the deceased while ascending to Heaven

The deceased always wishes not to get entangled with a lasso, lest he should be prevented from his ascension to the afterlife.[7] An ascension text of the *Pyramid Texts* starts with a speech of the goddess Nut. She asserts that her son, the king, is coming in peace, without being withheld:

n ḫry nḏḥ[8] *ḥr s3.f n ḫry ḫt ḏwt ḥr ʿ.f*

'*On whose back no lasso has fallen, on whose arm nothing bad has fallen*'.[9]

1.2 Inside the realm of the deceased

The soul of the deceased could be exposed to be caught by a lasso, carried out through the demons, with whom the underworld is swarmed:

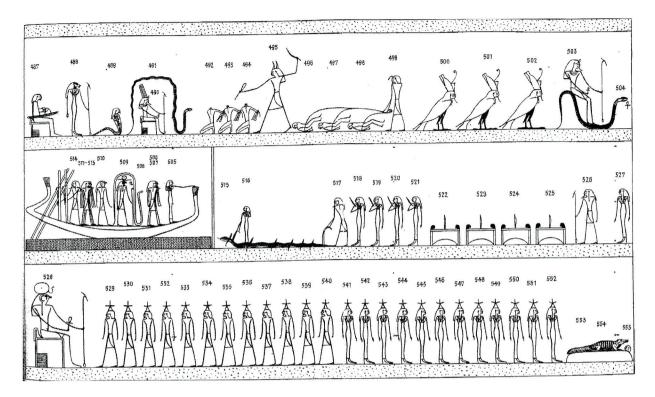
Ꞽ spḥt[10] *b3w m hrw m-ẖnw dw3t*

'*O, you who lassoes the souls at the daytime in the interior of the Netherworld*'.[11]

So a god who is responsible for protecting the deceased, is now threatening those demons saying:

iy r spḥ nn di.i spḥ.k iy r wdi n.i nn di.i wdi. (k) iw.i r wdi t(w) iw.i r spḥ t(w) iw.i m s3 n NN

'*O you who come to lasso, I will not let you lasso; O you who come to harm, I will not let (you) to do harm. I will harm you, and I will lasso you; for I am NN's protection*'.[12]

A similar spell is found on an amuletic papyrus dating back to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, where the potential enemies or rather the demons are not personified but identified.

(Fig. 1) The Seventh hour of the *Amduat.*

This text links the action of lassoing with further sanctions that could be carried out on the sinners.

Ỉ spḥ nn spḥ.k ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ỉmn s3 - nsw Ḥr-m-3ḫt i wdi nn wdi.k r.f i ʿw3 nn ʿw3.k sw i šdi ib nn šd.k ḥ3ty.f i sḫm nn sḫm.k m ʿwt.f

'O, he who lassoes, you will not lasso the high priest of Amun, the king's son Harmakhis (the son of Shabaka). O, he who injures, you will not injure him. O, he who robs, you will not rob him. O, he who tears out the heart, you will not tear out his heart. O, he who has power, you will not have power over his members'.[13]

1.2.1 Using lassoes to assign the sinners to the places of punishment

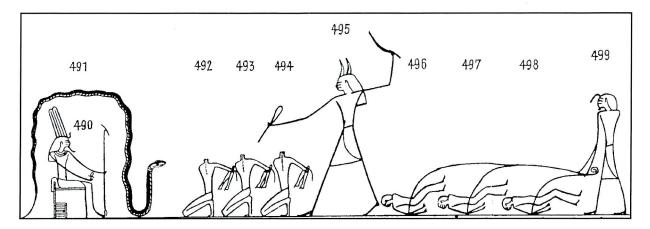
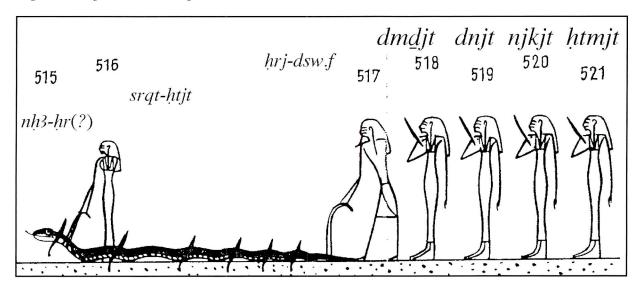
In punishing the deceased, as evil-doers, the god *Ḥr-Ḫnty-n-irty,*[14] in his demonic aspect, lassoes them in order to be assigned later to the slaughter places.

Therefore, in this case, the action of *spḥ* is a prelude to be slaughtered and eaten by foes just as it may have been for cattle:[15]

i Rʿ .... nḥm.k wi m-ʿ nṯr pw št3 irw wnnw inḥwy.f m rmnwy mḫ3t hrw pf n ḥsbt ʿw3 dd spḥw m isftyw r nmt.f r dnt b3w

'O, Reʿ.... may you save me from that god whose shape is hidden and whose eyebrows are the two arms of the balance, on that day of reckoning the robbers, which puts lassoes on the evil-doers (to assign them) to his slaughter-house, to slay the souls'.[16]

The deceased could be safe from that danger of being caught by a lasso when reciting the proper spell:

di.k ḥtp ʿwt.f tmm m ḫrt-nṯr ky-ḏd igrt iw.f nṯry ḫ3t.f tm.tw iw.f wḏ3 r ḫ3-bjn n spḥ.f sw

(Fig. 1a) Lassoing the enemies of the god Re.

(Fig. 1b) Punishing Apophis, the eternal adversary of the sun-god Re.

'May you grant that all his members repose in the Necropolis: in other words, the Realm of the Dead. He is divine, his corpse is complete, he is saved from the 'Evil-place' (one of the places of judgment),[17] *and he does not lasso him'.*[18]

1.2.2 Using lassoes to catch the deceased being a repast for the King

In a Cannibalistic passage, the deceased fears that he could be caught with the lasso like a cow to be offered to the king, who eats men and gods, and through this way he estimates their strength:

N pw wnm rmṯ ꜥnḫ m nṯrw .... Ꞽn ḫmꜥ wpwt imy kḫ3w spḥ sn n N

'The king is one who eats men and lives on the gods .... It is the Grasper-of-top knots[19] who is in *kḫ3w*?,[20] who lassoes them for the king'.[21]

2. Catching the enemies of the gods

In his biography *Rekhmire* speaks about the king depicting him with some qualities as being god Re, lord of the sky, and king of the two lands .... the black and red lands (coming) to his place, the Greats of which are subjugated to him, and too:

rmṯ nbt pꜥt nbt rḫyt nbt m hyhnw[22] *ḥr spḥ pḥ sw šnt sw*

'All men, all patricians, and all subjects are in jubilation when lassoing (catching with a lasso) those who dare to approach him, surrounding him'.[23]

According to that, people who might form a threat are to be considered enemies, equated sometimes with demons as in a Late-Period text:

Sḫm šmꜣyw n Sḫmt im.k spḥ tw imyw spḥw di.n.tw sḏb n ḫꜣytyw rnpt

'(Now), the Nomads of Sekhmet have power over you, and those who are in spḥw- fetters lasso you. Harm was given to the ḫꜣytyw[24] *- demons of the year (at the epagomenal)'.*[25]

This idea of catching people with a lasso to make them impotent and unable to act, deprived of their power lest they hurt others; is the concept upon which the deceased, classified as enemies through this tool might be punished.

As stated, there is a twofold judgment of the deceased; the righteous are protected, and the sinners are punished.

So the deceased who have sinned generally on Earth, being classified later when judged as enemies of the god Osiris or of the god Re, are among other punishments, caught with a lasso and taken to the slaughter places as cattle:

Ir.i sḫrw n ntyw m ḏbꜣt s[p]ḥ.i ḫftyw r Ḥtmyt

'I take care of those who are in the Netherworld. I catch the enemies with the lasso for Ḥtmyt- the Place of Destruction[26]*'.*[27]

2.1 Lassoing the enemies of the god Osiris

Lasso, as a net, might be also a tool with which the enemies of the god Osiris could be caught. Horus, the son and the defender, is lassoing the enemies of his father:

hꜣ Wsir ink sꜣ.k Ḥr iy.n.i spḥ.n.i n.k ḫftyw.k m wꜣw.sn

'O Osiris! I am your son Horus; I have come, having lassoed your enemies for you with their own ropes'.[28]

One of those butchers, known as *nmtyw* represented in the upper register of the fifth hour of the *Amduat* and whose roles are to protect Osiris, is entitled as: *ꜥnn ḥr spḥwt 'that with turned face, who catches with a lasso'.*[29]

Then gripping the god Seth and his gang could have been carried out, not only by nets, but also lassoes.

The annihilation of the enemies of Osiris is well represented in the seventh hour of the *Amduat*, upper register (Figs. 1 and 1a).

Here Osiris is seated on a throne under a canopy formed as a great cobra. His foes are in two groups, the first of which are beheaded and bound kneeling before him, entitled as *ḫftyw Wsir 'the enemies of Osiris'*. The second group is of three figures, described as *wty 'the bound'*,[30] lying on the ground and being lassoed by a standing god who bears the title of *nikw 'the one who punishes'*.[31]

The text accompanying the scene highlights the punishments carried out on those enemies as a final destination, after being caught with those lassoes:

In ḥm n nṯr pn wt r Wsir ḫꜣkw r ḫnty-dwꜣt nṯtw n ꜥwy.ṯn … ḥtm n bꜣw.ṯn …. nik ṯn nikw m nkyt.f

'So says the majesty of this god: you who acted wickedly against Osiris, who rebelled against ḫnty-dwꜣt, chains are to your arms …., destruction is to your souls …., the chastiser chastises you with his knife'.[32]

The lasso also shared the role of the net in capturing the enemies of the *nšmt* – bark:[33]

i sby .... ḫft n nšmt .... ḥ3yty sw m ḥ3yt (Var. *ḥ3d sw m ḥ3dt*) *snḥ sw m tm*

'*O, rebel ...., you the enemy of the nšmt - bark,* ...., (Speech directed to the executioners) *catch him with the ḥ3yty - net* (*or the ḥ3dt - trap*), *and bind him with the tm - lasso*'.[34]

2.2 Lassoing the enemies of the god Re

Punishing Apophis, the eternal adversary of the sun-god Re, being caught with a lasso, is evident too in the seventh hour of the *Amduat*, middle register (Figs. 1 and 1b).

Facing the bark of Re, on the prow of which stands the goddess Isis pronouncing incantations, the goddess *Srḳt-ḥtyt* '*She who gives breath*' and a god *ḥry-dsw.f* '*he who is over his knives*', have lassoed Apophis whose body is transfixed with knives. Behind are four goddesses, whose functions are referred through their epithets.[35]

The purpose of that action shows apparently, through the accompanied text:

wdi.ḫr Srḳt-ḥtt spḥw m tp Ḥry-dsw.f di.f spḥw nykt m rdwy.f m-ḫt nḥm 'Ist Ḥk3-smsw pḥty.f m ḥk3w.sn

'*Then the goddess Srḳt-ḥtyt 'She who gives breath' places lassoes on the head, and the god Ḥ ry-dsw.f 'He who is over his knives', he puts lassoes* (*whose names*) *to nykt* '*The punished (one)*' *on his feet after having Isis and 'The Great magician' have deprived his strength through their magic*'.[36]

Conclusion

Lasso, in its role as nets, carries only the name *Spḥ* referring to the action of catching; and so the tool itself apart from using the word *nḏḥ* in one case, and *tm* in another case, as a name of the lasso-rope.

The word *Spḥ* may be a causative of *pḥ* 'to cause to reach' of a rope.[37] Other texts use this word with a more extended meaning, to become a general term for 'to capture' or 'to constrain'.[38]

Lasso was used as a net in many roles, but on a smaller range, and in a very small number of texts.

Unlike the texts that show the role of the nets that have been developed through different periods, lassoes were confined only to two roles, the first of which focused on the obstruction of the deceased to reach heaven, being in one case a repast for the king and assigning the sinners to the Place of Destruction. The second is concerned with punishing the enemies of god Re and god Osiris.

Notes

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1 About the ropes and bonds with which the deceased is bound see, *CT* II 112c: *'I k3 ṯni.i nṯtw.k 'I k3 rdi.(i) n.k inṯtw snfḫfḫ* '*O Bull, I lift up your bonds; O bull, I give to you your loosened fetters*'; *CT* I 70 b-d: *n ḏdḥ.t(w).k n ḫnr.t(w).k n inṯ.(tw).k* '*you shall not be imprisoned, you shall not be restrained, you shall not be fettered*'. The verb *ḳ3s* is one of the most recurrent words denoting this idea, cf. *PT* 349a-350c; as usual the objects of the verb are foes of the god Horus or the king: the god Seth is brought in *ḳ3s.f*; enemies are tied *ḳ3s* in a *ntt* –rope, see: P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon* (Leuven, 1997), 1047. See too the fetters with which Apophis is hindered in *CT* V 245c: *smn inṯw.f in nṯrw* 'his fetters have been made firm by the gods'. For more about bonds, ropes, fetters see: J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), 78-80,108,125-132.

2 *LÄ* III 938; Cf.fig.1 (Hunter Palette BM 20790) in: J.R. Ogdon, 'Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought III. Knots and Ties. Notes on Ancient Ligatures', *DE* 7 (1987), 29

3 Here we can recall the rite of lassoing the *Ng3*-bull. In his study of hunting rituals, Otto suggested that the term *ng3* means 'lassoed cattle' which had been captured with the lasso ritually: see: E. Otto, 'An Ancient Egyptian Hunting Ritual', *JNES* 9 (1950), 164-177. This ritual is depicted in monumental proportions in the temple of Sety I at Abydos. In this relief we see the male Upper Egyptian *Ng3*-bull lassoed by the King

Ramesses II, accompanied by the crown-prince who grasps the animal by its tail. In this rite which takes place before the god *Wp-w3wt* and is titled as *sph ng3 t3y šmˁw in nswt* 'lassoing the male Upper Egyptian *ng3*-bull by the king', he says: *sph.i n.k ng3 t3y šmˁw* 'I lasso for you the male Upper Egyptian *ng3*-bull'. That day of finding a new *ng3*-bull is to be a day of happiness as it is evident from *CT* V 23j-24a: *iw.n n.k imyw nwt hrw pw n sph ng3 imnt nfrt m hˁˁw* 'Those who are in the sky have come to you on that day when the *Ng3*-bull was lassoed, while the Beautiful-West is in joy'. At Edfu (Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 552), the *Ng3*-bull is one of the bulls which was sacrificed in the temple to represent Seth as a wild bull. This was one of the most prestigious sacrifices.

4 Ogdon, *DE* 7, 30.

5 See: M. Gad, 'Catching with Nets & Traps in Religious Texts.1-The Origin of the Rite of catching the Enemies of the King', *ASAE* 86.

6 See: M. Gad, 'Catching with Nets & Traps in Religious Texts 2- Names, Descriptions, Functions of Nets, Traps, Catchers & the Gods related', *BEM* 7.

7 Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, 232.

8 Hannig, *GWB* 476 {17212}; it is not authenticated in Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, *OLA* 110 .

9 *PT* 1021c.

10 Cf. H. Beinlich, *Buch vom Ba* (Wiesbaden, 200), S.67, n.2: where he approaches this word to *sh3p* 'Verbergen', to hide!

11 Beinlich, *Buch vom Ba*, S.66, Zl. 81.

12 *BD* CLI (Budge II, 284). Translation: Faulkner, *BD*, 148.

13 The demons are referred to in general terms as the one who lassoes and injures, cf. A. Klasens, 'An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dyn.', *OMRO* 56 (1975), 25. A similar text published by Y. Koenig, 'Un revenant inconvenant? (Papyrus Deir el-Médineh 37)', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 118.

14 About that god see: M. Gad, *Blindness, its Social and Religious Conception in Ancient Egypt,* (unpublished MA, written in Arabic), Cairo University, 1993), 222-418.

15 Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 829. Cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, 233

16 *Urk* V 55, 10-14. (= *CT* IV 299a-301a).

17 See M.Gad, *Netherworld and its Location in the Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Unpublished PhD. diss. written in Arabic), Cairo University, 2002), 392-3.

18 *BD* CLXV (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, pl. 79, 6-7).

19 'Grasper-of-top knots' well illustrated by such pictures as Seti I smiting the enemy, whom he seizes by the hair of the head.

20 Cf. *imy kh3w* translated as 'Kessel' in: Leitz, *OLA* 110,VII S. 293.

21 *PT* 400a, 401a; cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, 233.

22 It is a variant of *hnw*: cf. *FCDME*, 159.

23 *Urk* IV, 1075, 13–1076, 1; the translation is little different from of that of سليم حسن، مصر القديمة، الجزء الرابع (القاهرة، ١٩٩٣)، ٥٦٦.

24 *ḥ3ytyw* as a kind of demons see: Hannig, *GWB* 536 [19359]. This word could be derived from the word *ḥ3yt* 'Krankheit/ disease', thereupon the *ḥ3ytyw* are to be the demons who might cause people to fall ill.

25 J.Cl. Goyon, 'Les dernières pages des Urkunden Mythologischen Inhalts', *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 344[144]-345 [145,12-14].

26 This word is derived from the stem *ḥtm* (Arab. حطم meaning to perish or to destroy) and could be compared to الحطمة, a name of the Hell, mentioned in Quran.

قارن سورة الهمزة (الآيات ٤–٧): (كلا لينبذن في الحطمة، وما أدراك ما الحطمة).

(Nay! Verily, he will be thrown into the crushing Fire. And what will make you know what the crushing Fire is), see: Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali; Muhammad Muhsin Khān, *The Noble Qur'an, with an English transliteration and translation of the meanings*. Darussalam, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 723. Cf. Gad, *Netherworld and its Location in the Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, 374-439.

27 A. Piankoff, 'Le livre des Quererts', *BIFAO* XLI (1942), pl. XI, 8, 5.

28 *BD* CLXXIII (Budge, III, 65, n.28); Faulkner, *BD*, 172.

29 See: E. Hornung, *Amduat*, Teil I Nr.354. Cf. Leitz, *OLA* 110 ,VI 270 where one of the protective gods in the retinue of Horus bears that epithet, *sph* (see *E* V 104, 9; X, pl.112).

30 Hornung, *Amduat*, Teil I S.121, n. 496-498; Teil II S.126.

31 Hornung, *Amduat*, Teil I, n. 499.

32 Hornung, *Amduat*, Teil I, S.121; Teil II S.128.

33 The *nšmt* – bark is the sacred boat of the god Osiris, which carries his body to his burial in *Peqer*, destined for his final glorification in Abydos. This journey is an episode of the Osirian myth, in which the boat was

attacked by the Sethian enemies. According to *CT* V 227a-b, this boat was the first *Re*ʿ built. And *Peqer* is the name of a district in Abydos to which the god Osiris, in his bark, departed during his feast; see *Wb* II 561, 6. The burial district of Osiris in Abydos; now: Umm el-Qaab.

34 Goyon, J.Cl., 'Textes mythologiques 1. « Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu »', *Kêmi* XIX (1969), 52; (NY col. 36, 13-37, 1). Cf., 64 (D. col. 32).

35 *dmḏyt; dmyt; nykt; ḥtmyt* 'she who unites; she who cuts; she who wounds; she who destroys'.

36 Hornung, *Amduat*, Teil I S.125; Teil II S.133, n.9. Cf. *E* IV 237, 13 where the king is slaying Apophis: *spḥ ibw wnp ḫftyw m dnn.f* '(he) lassoes hearts and pierces foes in his hand'. *spḥ* has become a general term for to 'capture or to constrain', see: Wilson, *OLA* 78, 829.

37 Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 829. In a corrupted text (*CT* III 395b), there is an appeal to a catcher with a lasso: *Ꞽ spḫw....irr.k m nṯr* 'O you who lassoed ....act as a god?'.

38 Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 829.

An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis 'Ushebtis' Housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut, Egypt*

مجموعة جديدة من الأوشابتي محفوظة بمتحف مدرسة السلام بأسيوط، مصر

Marzouk Al-sayed Aman**

ملخص

يتناول البحث جزءًا مهمًّا جدًّا من المعدَّات الجنائزية في مصر القديمة، ويلقي الضوء على هذه المجموعة من الأوشابتي المحفوظة في هذا المتحف. وفي هذا البحث يحاول الباحث إظهار السمات الشخصية لكل قطعة على حدة، ومحاولة تأريخها من خلال الملامح الفنية لكل قطعة، وترجمة النصوص التي تحتويها لمعرفة أصحابها. كذلك فإن الألقاب التي وردت في نصوص هذه المجموعة قد نوقشت. ويبدو من خلال دراسة تلك الألقاب أن بعضًا من تلك الأوشابتي كانوا من ذوي المكانة العليا في المجتمع المصري القديم. وهذه المجموعة تنتمي إلى عصور مختلفة من الحضارة المصرية القديمة؛ عصر الدولة الحديثة، وعصر الانتقال الثالث، وخلال الأسرة الثلاثين وما بعدها. وقد أمكن تأريخ كل قطعة حسب السمات المميزة لصناعة الأوشابتي لكل فترة زمنية على حدة، وكذلك أنماط الكتابة على تلك القطع، وكذلك الزي وباروكة الشعر والأدوات التي يحملها كل أوشابتي، لكي تمكنه من أن يؤدي دوره المنوط به في العالم الآخر. وتمكنت الدراسة من إعادة تأريخ تلك المجموعة تأريخًا علميًّا جديدًا على غير ما كان معتقدًا وموجودًا في سجلات المتحف.

The paper entitled 'An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis 'Ushebtis' Housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut, Egypt' deals with an important part of the funerary equipment. In brief, it draws attention to a collection of shabtis currently housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut.

In this paper, the author attempted to publish an unpublished new collection of shabtis. Their iconographical features and date are examined. Some owners are identified, from the inscribed texts, which present the name of the deceased. The titles that were mentioned in the inscriptions of these shabtis are noted.

Introduction

Among the Al-Salam School Museum's collections of ancient objects can be found a collection of shabtis. The major part of Museum collections was donated by F. Petrie and Sayed Khashaba to the Museum. However, it was not mentioned in the catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, who dedicated the group of shabtis to the Museum. Probably, Petrie donated some of these shabtis to the museum from Thebes[1] or from his excavations in Deir Rifeh in Assiut, where he excavated a collection of shabtis.[2] In addition, probably, Sayed Khashaba donated some of it to the museum from his excavations in Deir Dronka and Mountain of Assiut,[3] where he excavated some shabtis too.

Many studies about shabtis[4] were conducted; hence, I wish this simple paper to be an addition to these studies, and to add more knowledge on the shabtis. The researcher in this paper shows a new collection of shabtis exhibited in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut to explain different types of shabtis in this collection and to date them according to their industrial features, writing styles, and comparison. The author will study and classify these objects into three categories: New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Thirtieth Dynasty, and one more shabti, which can be dated to Ptolemaic period.

Group 1: New Kingdom Period

Object 1

Reg. no.	260.
Dimensions	H. is 8.5 cm.
Substance	Limestone.
Text	None.
Description	The lower part of this statue is missing; only the face without a beard and the duplex wig can be seen, without inscriptions. The face of the figurine is perfectly sculpted; the eyes have the characteristic Egyptian stare. The side parts of the wig continue along the chest, hands not shown. Maybe it was a Shabti.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the industrial features,[5] and the style of the wig, the duplex wig, normally associated with the dress of the living, although sometimes found also on mummy-form figures. This style became increasingly fashionable from the time of Amenophis III;[6] this object can be dated to the New Kingdom period (Fig. 1).

Object 2

Reg. no.	263.
Dimensions	H. 8.5cm.
Substance	Green faience.
Text	It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink in the front and sides.
Description	This shabti is in mummy-like form. It is carrying a *mr-* hoe in each hand. Arms are crossed on the chest. The shabti is beardless, with lappet 'tripartite' wig, the style of the end of the New kingdom period.[7]
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period, where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities[8] and the industrial features, mummy-form, beardless, with lappet wig, two hoes held in front, the inscription, in lines, or in one column.[9] This object can be dated to the New Kingdom period (Fig. 2).

Group 2: Third Intermediate Period:[10]

Object 3

Reg. no.	254.
Dimensions	H. 12 cm.
Substance	Light blue faience.[11]
Text	It is inscribed with a column of hieroglyphs in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading: *Wsir i nfr-nṯr ḫnsw p3 nb im3ḫw ḫr nb* 'Osiris ,O, good god, khonsu-ba-nb,[12] revered with the lord'.
Description	This shabti is in mummy-form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face visible as the great majority of shabtis.[13] The face of the shabti is not perfectly preserved; the eyes have the characteristic Egyptian stare, as if gazing at eternity. Arms are crossed right over left on the chest. This shabti was provided with little model tools which is required for his work in the other world, a *mr-* hoe in each hand and a basket with crossed fibers on his back. They were painted on the statue in black ink.[14] An amuletic sign[15] in black ink was inscribed on the right side of the front of the shabti. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with *sšd*[16] headband knotted behind. The latter was painted in black ink, and it was used as a fillet to retain hair in its place. The side parts of the wig continue along the forearms, curving slightly and reaching down to the palms of the deceased, running almost parallel to the agricultural tools he is holding.

Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[17] the bag,[18] and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.[19] This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 3). Great numbers of shabtis have been found from the Third Intermediate Period, when they were mass-produced, primarily in faience with a blue-green glaze. In general, the features of these shabtis were briefly treated, and the details were enhanced with black paint,[20] the same industrial features apply to shabtis numbers 256, 257, 258, 259, 264, and 265.

Object 4

Reg. no.	256.
Dimensions	H. is 6 cm.
Substance	Blue faience.
Text	It has an unclear inscription except the title: *Wsir* 'Osiris'.
Description	The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. This shabti has an inscription, in black ink, and shows that the statue is holding a *mr*- hoe in each hand and a plain trapezoid bag[21] on his back. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with *sšd*[22] headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink. The wig is straight and simple, where the hair comprises three parts, two hanging at the front of the shoulder and one at the back.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[23] and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title of the deceased.[24] This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 4).

Object 5

Reg. no.	257.
Dimensions	H. is 5.5 cm.
Substance	Blue faience, a part of the base has a white appearance, as it lost its blue paste coating.
Text	It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading: *Wsir ṯ ḳ3i m3ʿ ḫrw* 'Osiris *ṯ ḳ3i*[25] 'justified one'.

Description	The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. The face of the shabti is round with visible eyes and eyebrows. The shabti has a *mr*- hoe in each hand and a plain trapezoid bag[26] on his back. They were drawn in black ink. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with *sšd*[27] headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[28] and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.[29] The author can date it to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 5). See the shabti number 254.

Object 6

Reg. no.	258.
Dimensions	H. 9.5 cm.
Substance	Painted limestone with pale green color.
Text	It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading: *Wsir ns ẖnsw m ḥb mꜣꜥ ḫrw* 'Osiris *ns ẖnsw m ḥb*[30] 'the soldier', justified one'.
Description	The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. The face of the shabti is almost perfectly preserved; the eyes seem as if gazing at eternity. It has an inscription similar to the previous one, a *mr*- hoe in each hand and a bag upon his back, in black ink. A bag with crossed fibers is suspended by one robe from the left shoulder.[31] The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with *sšd*[32] headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[33] and the industrial features, it was fashioned of green-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.[34] This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 6). Revise the shabti number 256. Two shabtis were found from the Second Cache of Deir el Bahari at Thebes with a similar name (*ns ẖnsw*)[35] and (*ẖnsw m ḥb*). Maybe these shabtis belong to the same person. Therefore, maybe, the provenance of shabti no. 258 is Deir el-Bahari.[36]

Object 7

Reg. no.	259.
Dimensions	H. 9.5 cm.

Substance	Pale blue faience.
Text	It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading: *Wsir nb.i ḫnsw ns rḫi ir ḏsr ḫt mꜣꜥ ḫrw* 'Osiris *nb.i*[37] *ḫnsw ns rḫi*[38] doer[39] of good thing, justified one'.
Description	The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. Arms and hands are represented in the classical position, crossed right over left. The face of the shabti is almost perfectly preserved; the eyes seem as if gazing on eternity. It has inscription, in black ink, similar to the previous one, a *mr*- hoe in each hand and a bag with crossed fibers[40] on his back. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[41] the bag,[42] and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.[43] This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 7). See the shabti number 254. A shabti was found at Deir el Bahari in Thebes dated to the Third Intermediate Period with a similar name (*nsy ḫnsw*). Maybe this shabti belongs to the same person. Therefore, probably, its provenance is Deir el Bahari.[44]

Object 8

Reg. no.	264.
Dimensions	H. 10.5 cm.
Substance	Limestone.
Text	It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, but his name is not quite clear, reading: *Wsir -------imy-r šsp n iḳr* 'Osiris-----overseer of receiving of the wealth'
Description	The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. Arms crossed on the chest. The shabti has a *mr*- hoe in each hand and a bag with crossed fibers[45] on his back. They were drawn in black ink. The face of the shabti is perfectly preserved; the eyes stare, as if gazing at eternity. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with *sšd*[46] headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[47] the bag,[48] and the industrial features, it was fashioned limestone with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased,[49] this object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 8). See the shabti number 254.

Object 9

Reg. no.	265.
Dimensions	H. 5.5 cm.
Substance	Blue faience.
Text	It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink at the front.
Description	This shabti is in mummy-like form, similar to no. 256. The shabti is carrying a *mr*- hoe in each hand and a plain trapezoid bag[50] on his back. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with *sšd*[51] headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,[52] and the industrial features, it was in limestone with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.[53] This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 9). See the shabti number 254.

Object 10

Reg. no.	261.
Dimensions	H. 11 cm.
Substance	Red granite. Some of its parts are missing.
Text	It was inscribed with a text in horizontal lines: --- *sḥḏ Wsỉr pꜣ ḫnsw mw ms nt tꜣ wsỉr ḫrw ḏdt n .s wšbty ỉpn snr nṯry whꜥ rs m wỉ ỉs r ḥꜣwty sdb (sḏb) Wsỉr ỉm ỉrt kꜣt nbt ỉm m s r ẖrt .f (m) s ỉrỉ nfr ḫt nb w ---* 'The illuminated one, Osiris, *pꜣ ḫnsw mw*[54] who was born to *tꜣ wsỉr*, a voice called: 'O this shabti take care of the divine distribute rations of me. concerning an unpleasant task (literally obstacle) or a hindrance is imposed on Osiris (the deceased one) there and for any work that is to be done yonder in the netherworld, as a man in his duties, as a man, make well everything…'.

Description	The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form, where the body is enveloped in bandages with only head and hands visible. Arms and hands are represented in the classical position, crossed right over left. The face of the shabti is perfectly preserved; the eyes have the characteristic Egyptian stare as if gazing at eternity. This shabti wears a long divine beard with the normal headdress, the lappet 'tripartite' wig, so called because the hair was divided in two lappets in front with the remainder at the back. This was the traditional coif of gods.[55] Both ears protrude over the wig. The eyes, lips, and nose are very prominent and well sculpted. This shabti holding a *mr*- hoe in one hand and a pick in the other,[56] and had a small seed bag, a Sait trapezoid bag with crossed oblique pattern and loop,[57] suspended from a cord slung over the left shoulder.[58] This statue has a back pillar on statuary.
Dating	It was dated to the New Kingdom period in both the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and where the object is exhibited. From the industrial features,[59] the bag and the spilling of the word shabti *wšbty*,[60] which occurs on this statue, this object can be dated to the Twenty-Fifth or early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Fig. 10). In theTwenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, the shabti underwent another major transformation. A new arrangement of tools is found consisting of a pick, hoe and small seed bag suspended from a cord slung over the left shoulder. The figure takes on a new shape with a back pillar and base.[61]

Group 3: Thirtieth Dynasty onwards

Object 11

Reg. no.	255.
Dimensions	H. 6.5 cm.
Substance	Light blue faience.
Text	None.
Description	It is similar to no. 266. This shabti is in mummy-form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face visible, without inscription. The deceased wears the divine beard, and holds a *mr* hoe in each hand. The tools are incised in high relief, as are bread and the facial features of the deceased. The hands and part of the forearms protrude from the chest and the upper part of the body is more voluminous in shape, reminiscent of the swollen type of coffin characteristic of the second half of the Late Period.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities this object can be dated to Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE); indeed, the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief the reminiscent of the style of shabti models during that period[62] (Fig. 11). In the Thirtieth Dynasty the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief, as are bread and the facial features of the deceased.[63] The same industrial features apply to shabtis numbers 262 and 266.

Object 12

Reg. no.	262.
Dimensions	H.11 cm.
Substance	White faience.
Text	None.
Description	This shabti is in mummy-like form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face and hands visible. The beard and the facial features sculpted in high relief. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig. This shabti is holding a 𓌸 *mr* hoe in one hand and a pick in the other. The tools are incised in high relief, as are beard and the facial features of the deceased. The hands and part of the forearms protrude from the chest and the upper part of the body is more voluminous in shape, reminiscent of the swollen type of coffin characteristic of the second half of the Late Period.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities, this object can be dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE)[64] (Fig. 12). In the Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE) the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief, as are beard and the facial features of the deceased.[65] See the shabti number 255.

Object 13

Reg. no.	266.
Dimensions	H. 8.5 cm.
Substance	Blue faience, a part of the body and the wig have a white appearance, having lost their blue paste coating.
Text	None.
Description	It is similar to no. 255, but some of its parts are missing. This shabti is in mummy-like form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face and hands visible without inscription. This shabti wears a long divine beard with the normal headdress, the lappet 'tripartite' wig. This shabti is holding a 𓌸 *mr* hoe in each hand. The tools are incised in high relief, as are a beard and the facial features of the deceased. It has a back pillar, on statuary, which starts where the wig ends and stops at the base, the Shabti takes on a new shape with a back pillar and base since the Twenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties.[66]
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities, this object can be dated to Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE)[67] (Fig. 13). In the Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE), the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief, as are beard and the facial features of the deceased.[68] See the shabti number 255.

Object 14

Reg. no.	267.
Dimensions	H. 5 cm.
Substance	Pale blue faience.
Text	None.
Description	This shabti's features are unclear; it has a crude aspect of the manufacture, without inscription. The summary treatment of the underlying features is not entirely finished.
Dating	It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities, this object can be dated to Ptolemaic period[69] (Fig. 14). Shabtis continue to be used in burials in the Ptolemaic period, but disappear with the onset of Roman times.[70] In the Ptolemaic period, shabtis are consistently in mummy-form; examples in the dress of the living are exceedingly rare, if at all existent. So numerous were the figurines in each burial that in many instances there were 'overseer' figurines designed to control the gangs of workers.[71]

Titles mentioned in the study

1. *Wsir* 'Osiris' this title was mentioned on shabtis no. 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261 and 264. Osiris was a ruler of the netherworld the deceased king became Osiris. After the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, all transfigured deceased became Osiris who himself was a symbol of resurrection.[72]
2. *nfr nṯr* 'the good god', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 254. It was used as an epithet of god or (usually) dead king.[73]
3. *im3ḫw ḫr nb* 'revered with the lord', this title was mentioned on shabti no.254. The lord here may refer to Osiris *nb 3bḏw, nb imntt* the lord of Abydos , the lord of the West.[74]
4. *m3ʿ ḫrw* 'justified one',[75] this title was mentioned on shabti no. 257.
5. *imy-r šsp n iḳr* 'overseer of receiving of the wealth', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 264.
6. *sḥḏ* 'The illuminated one', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 261. It was used during the New Kingdom Period, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period on shabtis for deceased men and women.[76]

In conclusion, the author published in this paper a new collection of shabtis exhibited in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut from register number 254 to 267; explained different types of shabtis in this collection; classified and dated them according to their industrial features, writing styles on them, and comparison. These objects have different measurements and styles, and they did not belong to one person. They can be dated to different periods.

(Fig. 1) Statue no. 260, limestone, h. 8.5 cm. The lower part of this statue is missing, only the face without beard and the wig can be seen. It has no inscription. Maybe it was a Shabti. New Kingdom Period. Author's photograph.

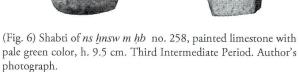
(Fig. 3) Shabti no. 254 of khonsu-ba-nb, in light blue faience, h.12 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 2) Shabti no.263 this shabti is mummy-like form, green faience, h. 8.5 cm. It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink in the front and the two sides, New Kingdom Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 4) Shabti no. 256, blue faience, h. 6 cm, it has unclear inscription except the title: Wsir 'Osiris'. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 5) Shabti of *ṯ ḳ3i* no. 257, blue faience, h. 5.5 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 7) Shabti of *nb .i ḫnsw ns rḫi* no. 259, pale blue faience, h.9.5 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

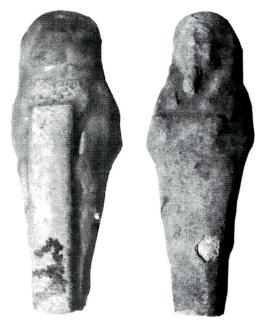
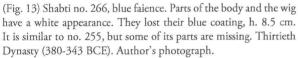
(Fig. 6) Shabti of *ns ḫnsw m ḥb* no. 258, painted limestone with pale green color, h. 9.5 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 8) Shabti no. 264, limestone, h. 10.5 cm. It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, but his name is not quite clear. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 9) Shabti no. 265 this shabti is mummy-like form, similar to no. 256, blue faience. Height is 5.5 cm. It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink in the front and sides. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 11) Shabti no. 255, blue faience. It is similar to no. 266, h. 6.5 cm. Thirtieth Dynasty (380-343 BCE). Author's photograph.

(Fig. 10) Shabti no. 261 of priest *pꜣ ẖnsw mw*, red granite, h. 11 cm. Some of its parts are missing. This statue has a back pillar, occurred on statuary, 25th or early 26th Dynasty. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 12) Shabti no. 262, white faience, h. 11 cm. This shabti is mummy-like form, similar to the previous one, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face and hands visible without inscription. Thirtieth Dynasty (380-343 BCE). Author's photograph.

(Fig. 13) Shabti no. 266, blue faience. Parts of the body and the wig have a white appearance. They lost their blue coating, h. 8.5 cm. It is similar to no. 255, but some of its parts are missing. Thirtieth Dynasty (380-343 BCE). Author's photograph.

(Fig. 14) Shabti no. 267, this shabti has unclear features, it is poorly manufactured. It is in pale blue faience, without inscriptions, h. 5 cm. Ptolemaic Period. Author's photograph.

Notes

* I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the Ministry of Antiquities and Al-Salam School Museum for giving me permission to publish these objects. Further thanks are due to the *Abgadiyat* referees for their comments; the present text owes much to their recommendations. I would also like to thank Marwa Abdelmotaleb (for checking my English). Naturally, I remain responsible for any errors in this paper.

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1 Petrie bought about forty shabtis from Thebes. See: F. Petrie, *Shabis* (London,1935), 3.

2 See G. Janes, *The Shabtis Collections* (England, 2010), 38.

3 See: A. Kamal, 'Fouilles à Deir Dronka et à Assiout (1913-1914)', *ASAE* 16 (1916), 65-114.

4 [hieroglyphs] *šȝwȝbti*, also [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] *šȝbti* shabti, Book of the Dead. [hieroglyphs] [hieroglyphs] *wšbti* ushebti, Late Period. [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] determinatives. *Wb* IV, 435(15). The linguistic origin of the word shabti 'ushebti' is of unknown meaning; since the end of the Old Kingdom, the Egyptians themselves interpreted it to mean 'answerer'. Lurker, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1996),125. Some Egyptologists suggest that the orgin of the term shabti is the verb [hieroglyphs] *wšb* in ancient Egyptian language *Wb* I, 371(6); R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1976), 70. It means 'to answer', this veb has one of these determinitives [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], or [hieroglyphs] D.19-20, or [hieroglyphs] in the Greco-Roman period. *Wb* I, 371(6); Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 70. Most of these determinitives represent a man with his finger or hand referring to his mouth to show response. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1926), 442(A2). The other determinitive [hieroglyphs] maybe, referring to that shabti does his duties of work powerfully. This verb was written in Coptic: ꜥ*quwšb*. *Wb.* I, 371(6); W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 474b. Besides, others suggest that the orgin of the term [hieroglyphs] *šȝwȝbti* shawabti (shabti) may have been drived from the name of the wood of the persea tree. Schneider, *Shabtis, An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, 2-3. [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] *šȝwȝb, šwb*, Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 263, which frist shabti was thought to be made of. M.R. Bunson, 'shabtis (shawabtis, ushabtis)', in: *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2002), 370. Schneider says that 'the origin of shabtis can only be explained (interpreted) from their relationship to the servant statues. H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis, An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1977), 3. The translation seems plausible concerning shabtis for they were meant to answer for the mummy and their name comes from their function, as these servant figures were to answer 'I am here 'when their master was called. see: H. Schlögl, 'Uschebi', *LÄ* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986), 896; D. O'Conner and E.H. Clne, *Amenhotep III, Perspectives on his Reign* (New York, 2004), 122. This was mentioned in chapter six of the book of the dead See. E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, the Chapters of Coming forth by Day* (London,1898), Chap.VI,28-29.

5 G. Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections* (Paris, 2002), 234; Compare this shabti with shabtis in: Petrie, *Shabis*, 14, pl.27.

6 Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 35, fig. 35.; Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European private collections*, 234.

7 'Index to the Named Shabtis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London' in: www.digtalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf

8 Compare his shabti with the shabti of Borely Museum NI369/2. See ; J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica II (II-III)' *BIFAO* 77 (1977), pl.11(A,B).

9 'Index to the Named Shabtis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London' in: www.digtalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf

10 The Third Intermediate Period, (21st Dynasty - 25th Dynasty 1069-656 BC) about shabtis from this era, see: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections*, 57f; L. Aubert, *Les statuettes funéraires de la deuxième cachette à Deir El-Bahari* (Paris,1998); Harris did not mention anything about shabtis from Deir el-Bahri in this era in his book: J.E. Harris and E. Wente, *An X Ray Atlas of Royal Mummies* (Chicago,1980), 228f.

11 Shabti statuettes were made of wood, stone, pottery, bronze, wax or glass C. Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies*, (London,1984), 59, and faience. Schlögl, 'Uschebi' 898. The symbolic properties of faience connected with rebirth. See: F.D. Friedman, 'Faience and Royal Life' in: F.D. Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London,1998), 194.

12 This name was not mentioned in: Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, but a similar name with some deference was mentioned *ḫnsw-pꜣ-ṯꜣw*. See: Ranke, *PN,* 271, 1.

13 Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 33; Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies,* 59.

14 In the Early New Kingdom the shabti was provided with little model tools of the implements required, a hoe, a pick and a basket. Later the objects were painted or molded onto the figurines. Lurker, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt,* 126.

15 Shabtis often carried amuletic signs and were inscribed with a prayer to provide food offerings. Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies*, 59.

16 See: Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* 249.

17 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 35, fig. 35.

18 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 37(D).

19 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^{c} Abul Naga, which bears the same industrial features and was dated to the same period, Third Intermediate Period. D.B. Spanel, 'Funerary Figurines', in: D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I (Cairo, 2001), 569, 569.

20 Haynes, 'shawabtis, servant figures and models', 888.

21 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European private collections,* 245(13a).

22 See: Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* 249.

23 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 35, fig. 35.

24 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^{c} Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 569, 569.

25 This name was derived from the verb *ḳꜣi* which means 'be high'. see: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1957), 445 (A28). It was not mentioned in: Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen.*

26 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections,* 245 (13a).

27 See: Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* 249.

28 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 35, fig. 35.

29 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^{c} Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 569, 569.

30 See this name with the name of *ḫnsw-m-ḥb in:* Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 271, 273 .

31 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections,* 245(8).

32 See: Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* 249.

33 See: S. El-Menshawy. Unpublished Private Shabtis from the Greco-Roman Museum' in *Abgadiyat* 2 (2007), 11; Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 35, fig. 35.

34 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^{c} Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 569, 569.

35 See: Aubert, *Les statuettes funéraires de la deuxième cachette à Deir El-Bahari*, 78.

36 See: Aubert, *Les statuettes funéraires de la deuxième cachette à Deir El-Bahari*, 86.

37 Suffix pronoun 1st person common. In inscriptions sometimes see: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 39(34).

38 This name was not mentioned in: Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen.*

39 *ir* doer 'of good'. see :Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 26.

40 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European private collections,* 245(13b).

41 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 35, fig. 35.

42 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis,* 37(D).

43 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^{c} Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 569, 569.

44 See: G. Janes, Shabtis, *A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections* (Paris, 2002), 103.

45 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections,* 245(13b).

46 See: Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* 249.

47 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 35, fig. 35.

48 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 37(D).

49 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^c Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 569, 569.

50 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections*, 245(13a).

51 See: Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 249.

52 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 35, fig. 35.

53 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra^c Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 569, 569.

54 This name was not mentioned in: Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*.

55 Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 35.

56 Compare Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 37.

57 See: Janes, Shabtis, *A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections*, 245(28).

58 Compare Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, fig.30.

59 'Index to the Named Shabtis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London', in:www.digtalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf

60 See: *Wb* IV, 435(15); Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*, I 569.

61 Haynes, 'shawabtis, servant figures and models', 888.

62 Compare: A.A. Maravelia, 'Two Faience Shabtis from the Egyptian Collection at the Benaki Museum', *Journal of Banking & finance* 2 (Athens, 2002), 21, figs. 3,4; http://www.archve.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf

63 Compare: Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, Figs. 3, 4; http://www.archve.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf

64 Compare it with Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, figs. 3, 4; http://www.archve.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf

65 Compare: Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, figs. 3, 4 ;http://www.archve.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf

66 Haynes, 'shawabtis, servant figures and models',888 .

67 Compare this shabti with Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, figs. 3, 4; http://www.archve.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf

68 Compare: Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, figs. 3, 4; http://www.archve.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf

69 Compare it with V. Carpano, 'Une collection particulière', *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 54, fig. 22.

70 Haynes, 'Shawabtis, servant figures and models', 888.

71 Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*, I 570.

72 Lurker, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 93; G.Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London, 2005), 117; M. Coenen, 'The Funerary Papyri of the Bodleian Library at Oxford', *JEA* 86 (2000), 86.

73 R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1976), 142.

74 See: D. Jones, Index of *Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 1 (Oxford, 2000), 27(127).

75 *Wb* II, 17 (15).

76 As Queen Iset- nofret *3st nfrt* (19th Dynasty) and others. See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections*, 12-15, 21-22, 29-30, 40, 85, 94 , 98, 172, 191; Janes, *The Shabtis Collections*, 8-11, 14, 18; Aubert, *Les statuettes funéraires de la deuxième cachette à Deir El-Bahari*, 56-57, 90.

An Epitaph of a Roman Legionary Soldier from the Legio II Traiana stationed in Alexandria

نقش شاهد قبر لجندي روماني من الفرقة التراجانية الثانية في الإسكندرية

ينشر لأول مرة

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Aia Mohamed Taher
Nesreen Abd-el-Kareem Tawfiq

ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة أثرية وتاريخية ولغوية في نشر علمي لأول مرة لشاهد قبر لجندي روماني من جنود الفرقة التراجانية الثانية التي كان مقرها الإسكندرية. ويؤرخ النقش وشاهد القبر بالقرن الثاني الميلادي. وينقسم البحث إلى قسمين رئيسيين؛ القسم الأول يركز على الدراسة الأثرية لشاهد القبر وما يحتويه من مشهد متكامل بالنحت البارز. أما القسم الثاني من البحث فيتناول النشر العلمي للنقش اللاتيني في أسفل اللوحة الموصوفة أثريًا.

ويلي هذا النشر في القسم الثاني من البحث تعليق تاريخي مستفيض يتناول جانبين؛ الأول: تعليق خاص بالنقش المكتشف 'موضوع البحث' وأهميته. الثاني: تعليق تفصيلي تاريخي عن الفرقة التراجانية الثانية في مصر.

This paper is an archaeological, historical and linguistic study of a tombstone of a Roman legionary soldier from Alexandria, dated to the second century CE.

It is divided into two main sections:

1. The Archaeological Section includes:

1.1 The Provenance, its archaeological finds, and the characteristics of the location.

1.2 An Archaeological Description, commentary and conclusions of the depiction of the deceased soldier in the upper part of the slab.

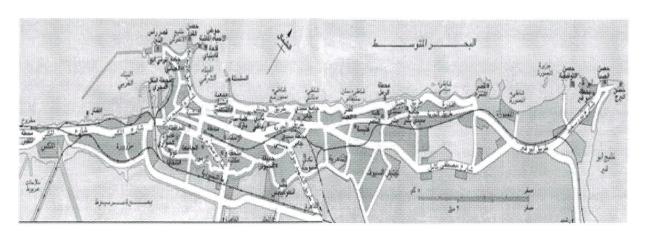
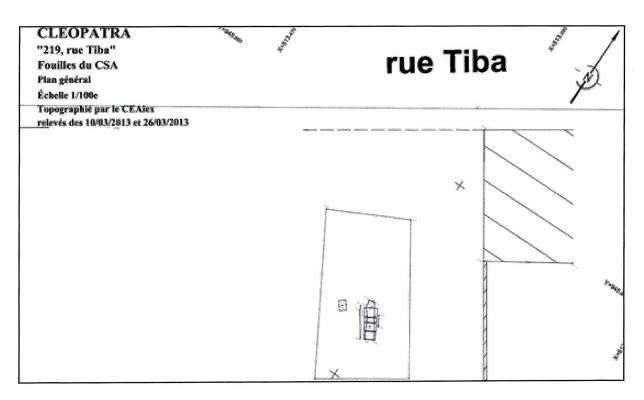
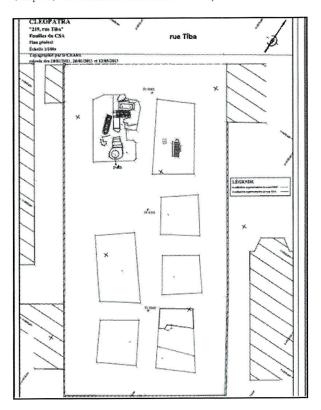
   This section has been prepared by Hasnaa Mahmoud Fahmy, Chief Archaeological Inspector of the Eastern District of Alexandria, together with Inspectors Aia Mohamed Taher and Nesreen Abd-el-Kareem Tawfiq.

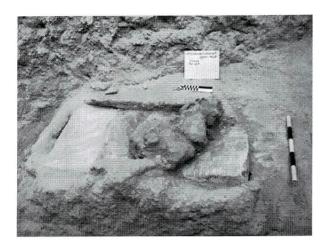
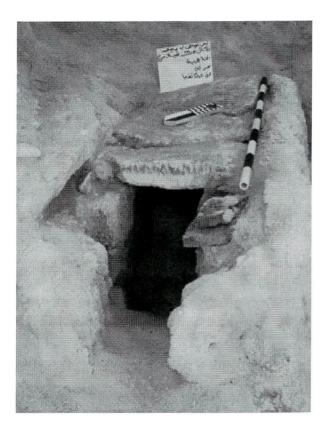
2. The publication of the accompanying inscription on the lower part of the slab. This section includes the publication of the Latin text with an English translation and linguistic and explanatory notes. This is followed by detailed commentaries on the discovered inscription and on the Legio II Traiana in Egypt. This is the work of Prof. Mohamed Abd-el-Ghani.

1. The Archaeological Section

1.1 The Provenance, its archaeological finds, and the characteristics of the location

This epitaph is one of the recent discoveries that were found in an unearthed graveyard during the process of digging trial trenches to the foundations (as a part of the required procedures by the municipalities to build or rebuild an empty space of land) at 219, Tiba (Thebes) St., Sporting district,[1] Alexandria. The measurement of the trenched open area is 551.64 square meters, the digging of the trial trenches began in February and ended in June 2013,[2] the epitaph in question was discovered during April 2013. The location of the unearthed graveyard clearly indicated that it was one of the graveyards constituting the Eastern Cemetery of Alexandria during the Greco-Roman Era (Map 1) which was situated beyond the city walls. This Cemetery was the burial place of the Macedonians, Greeks and Romans in Alexandria; it included the graveyards of Chatby, Ibrahimia, Cleopatra, Sidi Gaber, Tigran, El Hadara, Mustafa Pasha to the east of the barracks known as the Roman camp of Mustafa Pasha.[3]

The epitaph in question was discovered above one of the tombs hewn in the rock in the trench

(Map 1a) General Map of Alexandria.

(Map 1b) The Location of the Excavation by SCA.

(Map 2) The Location of the Discovered Archaeological Finds (including our Epitaph in Trench no. 7).

no. 7 (Map 2) at the depth of 4.70 m. (Fig. 1b). One of the significant features of this particular tomb is that the shape of the skeleton of the buried person inside which appears, though in a bad state of preservation, putting his left hand on his chest (Fig. 2). As will be shown later in this paper the tomb and its epitaph, the subject of the present study, belonged to a legionary soldier, a horn-blower of the Legio II Traiana in Alexandria from the second century CE. The graveyard in question was a burial place for many others, as is attested by the discovery of several other skeletons in tombs of the graveyard; such tombs differ in architectural styles and burial techniques. Several other archaeological finds were unearthed in such tombs such as burial jars (which contained the mortal remains of the deceased) close to the right of the deceased's head, as well as lacrimal tubes in the size of a finger, close to the burial jars (Fig. 3).

(Fig. 1a) Trench no. 7 (from outside)

(Fig. 1b) Trench no. 7 (from inside).

(Fig. 2) Trench no. 7. Skeleton of the deceased soldier of our epitaph with his left hand upon his chest.

(Fig. 3) Burial jars and lacrimal tubes.

The location of the graveyard (Map 2) is a slope far from the flume (gully) of water; it might have been overlooking the domicile (estate) of the grave-owner. It is remarkable that the skulls of the deceased persons were oriented towards the East (the sunrise direction), while the feet were oriented to the West; the difference of the directions might be attributed to the seasons in which the burials took place. It is also observed that most of the burials in this graveyard were not deep in the soil, they almost do not exceed the depth of about 1.20 m except in few cases for the purpose of misleading, camouflage (mystification)

(Fig. 4) The relief before restoration.

(Fig. 5) The relief after restoration.

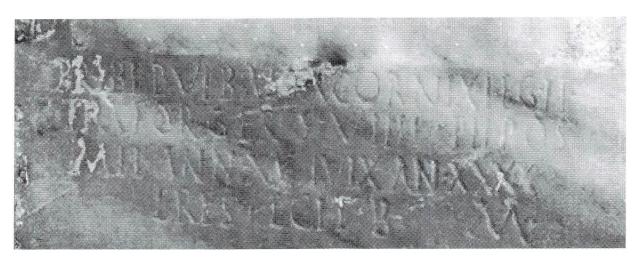
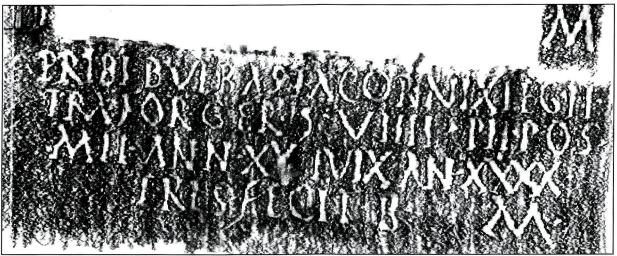
or protection against grave-robbers; in such cases the depth of the burials range between 2.20 m and about 5 m from the earth surface.

1.2 The Archaeological Description and Commentary of the Epitaph

1.2.1 Description

The epitaph in question is a rectangular slab of veined dark grey marble, one of the most well-known types of Attic marble.[4] Its dimensions are 59 cm tall, 34 cm in breadth, 3 cm thick, a small part of the upper right corner is missing and its rims are uneven. It is in a good state of preservation, it was treated in the restoration lab of the Roman Amphitheatre of Kom el-Dikka, and transferred recently to the National Museum of Alexandria where it is on display there. (Fig. 5)

The marble slab of the epitaph is divided into two sections: the larger one on the upper part of the slab is outlined on its two vertical sides by a thin frame encircled from above by a semi-circular (crescent) shape and contains the depiction of the deceased soldier in relief; while the smaller one on the lower part contains the commemorating inscription engraved in 5 lines in Latin. (Fig. 6 and its enclosed facsimile)

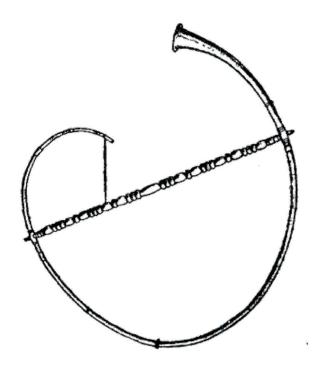
In the upper section the deceased legionary soldier is depicted from the front, standing and resting the weight of his body on his right foot; while his left foot rests lightly backwards. He is wearing the Roman tunic,[5] and above this tunic he is depicted wearing a cloak called the *Paludamentum*,

(Fig. 6) The inscription in low relief.

which originated from the Greek 'Himation •• • ••• •'.[6] This cloak here is known as *sagum*: it is a military cloak which the officers and soldiers used to wear; it was rectangular in shape, folded above the tunic and fixed with a clasp above the right shoulder.[7] In this depiction the soldier in question is seen extending his *sagum* to cover his left arm, while fixed on his right shoulder with a clasp (*ponannular*)[8] and hanging down his back until below the knees; remains of yellow color could be seen on the *sagum*.[9] The soldier (in his capacity as a horn-blower/*cornix*) is holding a horn (*cornu*) with his left hand and carrying it on his left shoulder. His right arm, however, is extended down with a sacrificial plate (*patera*) used to pour wine on a burning altar underneath.

1.2.2 The Archaeological Commentary and Conclusions

The depiction of the deceased soldier in this epitaph represents one of the examples which express the characteristics of the Trajanic era sculpture. The Trajanic sculpture is considered the actual start of the integration

(Fig. 7) The horn (cornu).

(Fig. 8) A slab of an epitaph at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Museum of Antiquities.

of the art of Roman sculpture, apart from the artistic dualism which combined the characteristics of the Hellenistic sculpture with those of the Roman. In this example of the Trajanic sculpture in this epitaph the realistic lines in depicting the personal portrait of the soldier are clearly observed: the wrinkles of the face and front, the prominence of the cheekbones as if he had no flesh, and the swollen eyes[10] show the soldier older than his actual age (40 years as is shown in the inscription), and he seems to have been in fact so. His hair is well groomed in the Trajanic style which was represented as if it were a crown above the head, with an ideal representation of the beard and moustache, a reflection of the political peculiarity of the Trajanic age. In the depiction of the soldier's portrait one can notice the disappearance of light and shadow (although a trace of shadow appears near the end of the left foot). One can also observe the disappearance of the nervous expressions[11] which dominated during the Flavian era, here there is a return to the absolute simplicity which could amount sometimes to immobility (inertness).[12] The artist here carefully observed the symmetry and conformity of the proportions and measurements of the body and the other elements of the portrait.

If we have a closer look at the deceased soldier's clothing as represented on the tombstone we notice that the tunic here is different from the tunic of the Republican era which had short sleeves or without sleeves.[13] The folds of the clothes indicate the interest in

the decorative aspects in an elaborate way. It is a continuation of the decorative sides of the Flavian era and were maintained during the Trajanic age (some of the best examples, apart from the current epitaph, are the decorations of the clothes of the horn-blowers represented on the famous pillar of Trajan).[14] (Figs. 9-10) The cloak *sagum* was also represented with meticulous and realistic folds (plies) which conform with the movements of the hands; this is a good representation of the *sagum*.[15] Although the Roman *toga* was the official Roman uniform during the Roman Empire, it was used only in times of peace during the festivals and other similar occasions. Such official uniform required special skills for its manufacture and was exclusively confined to the Roman citizens.[16] Necessity imposed, however, the use of a less sophisticated cloak *sagum* to replace the *toga* in the time of military service, and in military and civil life at large.[17] There were two types of the *sagum*: a regal one for the Emperor and highest magistrates, and a regular one to be worn by the soldiers and ordinary people. This latter is the one worn by the soldier in our epitaph, and the same cloak is worn by the soldiers represented on Trajan Pillar.[18] The *sagum* was in various colors such as purple, red, white, yellow, blue and violet; here the *sagum* appears to have been in yellow.

Various opinions were stated about the significance of the use of this yellow color in the manufacture of the military cloaks *saga*. Some viewed it a normal color grading of the wool (or linen) from which the *saga* were made, this color was worn, according to this viewpoint, by men of higher esteem.[19] Other views would think that it expresses sobriety and dignity,[20] while others suggest that the colors of the *saga* differed in the Roman army according to the rank: the *saga* in white pertain to commanders, those in red to ordinary soldiers, while those in yellow to the military who were entrusted with special tasks.[21] Others would view the yellow color a symbol of the light and the sanctity of the gods.[22] It is fortunate that all such views are in accordance with the qualities of the soldier in our epitaph: his special task as a horn-blower, his sobriety and piety are apparent in the depiction and the inscription, as we are going to see later on.

Finally, as regards the Roman clothing, as is obvious in the depiction of this epitaph, two remarks are noteworthy 1) although the Romans were influenced by the Greek costumes, the artist in our topic managed to distinguish between the Greek costumes which were characterized by the straight lines and the right angles, and the Roman ones which became characteristic with their curves and folds which bestow upon the costume luxury, clarity and realism;[23] 2) the artist seems to have been influenced by the Spanish art. This could be attributed to the fact that Trajan was one of a few Emperors who did not belong to the Italian Peninsula; although of Italian origin, he was born and brought up in Spain. This Spanish effect appeared clearly in the military cloak *sagum* which was of Spanish origin.[24]

As for the musical instrument (the horn/ *cornu*) held by the deceased soldier in the depiction and referred to in the inscription, a covering commentary will be found later on in the notes and comments on the text of the inscription. A simple description of that musical instrument can be put forth as follows: ‘It had a narrow, evenly conical bar

(Fig. 9) Horn-bearers on Trajan's Column.

(Fig. 10) Horn-blowers on Trajan's Column.

in the shape of a round letter G with a slender bell; a wooden crossbar, forming the diameter, rested upon the player's left shoulder and was grasped by his left hand. While the right hand pressed the mouthpiece against his lips'.[25] (Figure 7) It is noteworthy, however, to highlight the distinguished position which the horn-blowers enjoyed in the Roman army. In addition to their significant role in the Roman barracks and camps, the sacrifices and libations to the gods took place in the presence of trumpeters and horn-blowers as is attested in the sacrificial scenes of Trajan Column.[26] (Figs. 9-10) The soldier in our epitaph is represented holding the *cornu* on his left shoulder and the (*patera*/the sacrificial plate) with his right hand, thus achieving the full functions of a *Pius* (note on line 3 of the text, and the further subsequent commentary) horn-blower. The scenes of horn-blowers on Trajan Column commemorated the events of the Dacian Wars and their battlefield, while here the scene is meant to commemorate the deceased horn-blower of our epitaph.

The piety (piousness) of the horn-blower in our case is apparent through representing him pouring a libation of wine from his *patera* on a burning altar as an expression of glorification and gratitude to the gods; that sort of libation was of milk, wine or water[27] to be poured over a burning altar or hearth. Most of the cities had public hearths where the sacred fires blaze. In Roman religion, Vesta was the goddess of the sacred hearth. She was a peaceful goddess who did not take part in conflicts nor strifes, she even extended her protection on those who sought the refuge of her sacred hearth. Every meal of food would begin and end with an offering for her sake, her name was the first to be uttered in prayers and in oath, and it was believed that her sacred fire secured peace and tranquility for Rome.[28] The altars of the public hearths of Vesta were erected in open areas, since the ritual of burning sacrifices or libations or throwing incense would make the fire blaze even more.

1.3 Additional Notes

1. In spite of the accuracy and precision of the artist in carving the details of the soldier's body one can find fault with him in that he did not manifest the details of the soldier's toes, if he meant to represent him barefooted although this is unusual to the Romans. If

the artist's intent was to represent the soldier wearing shoes, there is nothing of lines or shades to confirm that.

2. The artist used a deep perspective and produced a background void of any representation. It seems that the artist here resorted to fanciful architectural elements: he made the frame (outline) carry the crescent ceiling instead of the columns in real architecture. Perhaps this representation is further evidence, as proposed earlier, of erecting the altars of the public hearths of Vesta in open areas, and not in the precincts of the goddess temple.
3. This apparent libation to Vesta in our epitaph, in addition to the yellow cloak *sagum* of the soldier in question: yellow, as the symbol of light and sanctity, according to some; as well as the crescent ceiling, make the soldier appear surrounded with an aura resembling that of Christian saints in Byzantine art.
4. The soldier is represented without his armour nor the full military uniform. This might imply some sort of focusing on his peculiar task as a horn-blower or just to commemorate his personal memory without highlighting certain particular military exploits.

2. Publication of the Enclosed Inscription (with translation, notes and commentaries)

2.1 The Text

D (iis) (vac.) M(anibus)

Pribi(us) Bulbasia(nus) cornix leg(ionis) II

Tra(ianae) For(tis) Ger(manicae) (centuriae) VIIII. Pii pos(uerunt).

Mil(itavit) ann(os) XXI vix(it) an(nos) XXXX

(vac.) Fr(ater) L(egionis) (centuriae) fecit

b(ene) (vac.) M(erente)

2.2 Translation

To the sacred spirits of the deceased Pribius Bulbasianus, the horn-blower of the Legio II of Trajan, the strong, the Germanic, of the ninth centuria. The pious (fellows) erected it. He spent 21 years in military service, lived 40 years. His brother in the legio and centuria made it (the tombstone), well deserving.

2.3 Notes

Line 2 Cornix-icis, f., crow: in this context, it is certainly equivalent to 'cornicen-cinis, m., horn-blower. This is absolutely confirmed by the (cornu/horn) carried by the deceased on his left shoulder and held by his left hand, in the depiction accompanying the inscription from above on the slab.

Line 3 › or › is a sign used for the word '*centurio*'; a centurion or commander of a century; or 'centuria': a division of 100; a company of soldiers, especially as a military technical term, a century or one-sixtieth of a legion. This meaning is clear and frequently included in the inscriptions, although the origin of the sign is uncertain.[29]

Pii pos(uerunt): From the full-length representation of the deceased legionary soldier in his uniform and equipment, it is obvious that he led a pious life as is clear from the *patera* (the libation dish or saucer) in his right hand, and the burning altar beneath. This is what he wished his comrades and the future generations to remember him by. This explains the phrase *Pii pos(uerunt)* which means that his fellow comrades, and in particular, the pious among them, cared to erect this fitting tombstone to commemorate this pious fellow.

Line 5: if the fellow comrades of this deceased soldier were so careful to erect *(ponere)* this tombstone for him, his brother who survived him and was still serving in the same unit (the same Legion and *centuria*) was the most appropriate person to prepare the draft work of the sheet of paper to be handed to the stone-cutter *(faber lapidarius)* and the writer of the text of the inscription *(scriptor titulorum)* in the stonemason's workshop *(officina titulorum)* to execute as an end-product of the gravestone. If this understanding is correct, the phrase *'fr(ater) l(egionis) (centuriae) fecit'* does not literally mean that this brother executed the tombstone himself, but rather took the preparatory steps to its execution and supervised the manufacture until its end product. This makes sense, as the brother is supposed to be the closest one to his deceased brother, and the most capable to satisfy his wishes as to the best way of his commemoration. This evidence comes to confirm. L. Keppie's statement (n. 29, *loc. cit.*) that: *'the epitaphs were erected sometimes by a brother also serving, or by a fellow soldier designated as an heir'.*

The space left between the two abbreviated words *b(ene)* and *M(erente)* is most likely intentionally done as a way of decoration and co-ordination on the part of the *(scriptor tituli)* to complete the last line. The same could be said of the large space left between the two words of the first line: *D(iis)* and *M(anibus)* at the beginning and end of that line, just below the full-length depiction of the deceased soldier.

A further and final note in this concern is that the writer of the inscription reflected the importance of some of the abbreviated words by writing the letter of the abbreviation in larger size (Capital Letter): D M in the first line which is traditional on tombstones in general to express the sanctity and supplication to the souls of the deceased; and *M(erente)*, the last word of the last line, to express and emphasize the worthiness of the deceased of the commemoration.

2.4 The Commentary

2.4.1 On the Discovered Inscription

E. Breccia published, early in the 20th century, more than a dozen funerary inscriptions from Alexandria pertaining to members of the Legio II Traiana,[30] the principal—and almost the only—Roman legion in Egypt during most of the second and Third centuries CE. Those deceased soldiers, for whom the tombstones had been erected, were of different military ranks: most of them were soldiers *milites*, while a few were of specific functions assigned to them in their units, such as the *signifer*/standard–bearer[31] (in nos. 480 and 484 in Breccia), and the *imaginifer*/bearer of the bust of the emperor[32] (no. 483 in Breccia). Our inscription is unique, however, in that it is the only military tombstone in Egypt, so far as I know, which testifies the occurrence of a *cornicen*/horn-blower[33] of the Legio II Traiana from its main headquarters in Alexandria, although the term used for that rank in our current inscription is different in form *cornix* (see note in line 2 above).

Among the points of interest in the present inscription is to find two brothers performing their military service in the same unit (note on line 5). Their ethnic origin is not stated in the contents of the inscription, nor even the name of the brother who supervised the manufacture of the tombstone. One cannot know for sure their province of

origin from the name of deceased: *Pribi(us) of Bulbasia(nus,)* if my reading is correct.

It is noteworthy that if a group of pious fellows *Pii*, comrades of the deceased horn-blower, erected this tombstone for this late *Pius* fellow, as his representation clearly portrays, this might raise a probable question: Did such *collegia* within the Roman army units ever exist? In case of their actual existence, did they take an official form which was being overlooked by the authorities so long as they adhered to the Roman traditional religion and the imperial cult? L. Keppie alludes in a quick reference to a sort of clubs that might have paid attention to the burials of the fellow military members, who happened to pass away while in harness away from their homeland; soldiers in such units paid contributions to such clubs to ensure their proper commemoration following death.[34]

Finally, in relation to the present inscription, it might probably, date back to the second century CE. The Legio II Traiana in our inscription simply bears the traditional titles and identification of the second century CE: *Legio II Traiana Fortis Germanica*, with no other (additional) titles indicating any of the Emperors of the third century CE. Such titles as Antoniniana, Severiana, Gordiana, Philippiana, Galliena, and more, were frequently added and employed in the documents in the identification of that Legio in the third century to link it closely to the ruling emperor.[35]

2.4.2 On the Legio II Traiana in Egypt

First, I agree with M.P. Speidel's statement that '*Egypt is not only the richest of all provinces in sources for the Roman army, its army is also the best researched. Nevertheless, its wealth of sources is far from fully put to use*'.[36] This is confirmed by the increasing researches on the topic, the latest of which is the current publication as a slight contribution in a large field.

Immediately following the Roman occupation of Egypt, one year following the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the Roman army was well established in that province during 29 BCE, at the latest. The Roman rulers of Egypt tightened their grip over the country in a way quite contrary to their weak Ptolemaic predecessors. The security and pacification of the province was ensured through the deployment and effective use of three Roman legions which were, at first stationed in Nicopolis near Alexandria, Babylon and Thebes.[37] These legions were namely: the Third Cyrenaica, the Twelfth Fulminata, and Twenty-Second Deiotariana. Under Tiberius in 23 CE the legion 12 Fulminata left Egypt, and the same happened with the Third Cyrenaica later, possibly under Hadrian (since it is attested in Egypt in a letter sent by Hadrian to the prefect Rammius Martialis in 119 CE: B.G.U. 140, l. 6). Thus, for most of the first century CE, two Roman legions were stationed in Egypt, mostly concentrated at Nicopolis. Furthermore, the Twenty-Second Deiotariana was destroyed during the second century,[38] but after that there still remained at Nicopolis the Legio II Traiana, which was created by Trajan at the start of the second century; and from that time onwards the destiny of that legion became the same as that of Egypt.[39] Nicopolis camp was the principal headquarters of the Roman army legions, mostly composed of the Legio II Traiana during the late second and

third centuries CE. From there detachments were sent upriver, as and when necessary, to various key places: frontiers, road junctions, depots of grain supply, mines and quarries.[40]

In addition to the local functions assigned to the Legio II Traiana of securing peace and tranquility within Egypt, it also played a significant role in campaigns and expeditions outside Egypt. Since its creation by Trajan, at the beginning of the second century CE, the Legio II Traiana played a significant role in the suppression of the Jewish revolts of 115–117 and 132–135 CE. This issue has been thoroughly dealt with in various previous studies.[41] This legion, or at least considerable detachments of its troops—must have taken a significant part in the Roman confrontations against the Parthians (161–166 CE) under the titular command of Lucius Verus, the Co-Emperor with Marcus Aurelius, and the active and actual command of the Roman General Avidius Cassius. It must also have shared the troops of Marcus Aurelius in their extended war against the Danubian and Germanic tribes of the Quadi, Marcomani and Saramatiani (167–175 CE).[42] Their partial absence from Egypt at the time must have encouraged and prompted the serious revolt of the Egyptian farmers and shepherds (*Bucolici*/• ••••••••) in the northern parts of the Egyptian Delta (170–172 CE); a revolt which had actually been crushed by the above-mentioned General Avidius Cassius, the defender of the eastern Roman frontiers against the Parthians.[43]

On account of his distinguished war against the Parthians, and later against the Bucolics; Cassius, on a false report of Marcus Aurelius' death on the Danube front, was proclaimed Emperor in the East for three months in 175 CE, before he was murdered and beheaded by one of his officers. It seems clear, from the sequence of events, that Cassius seized the opportunity of the absence of a large part of the Legio II Traiana beyond Egypt during the hard times of the Danube confrontations to suppress the Bucolic revolt. His success in that mission, as well as the extended absence of the Legio II Traiana, were apparently among the factors which nurtured the ambition and greed that led to his rash step of claiming the imperial throne for himself. Thus, the absence of a large part of the Legio II Traiana from Egypt during the hard times of the decade of the seventies of the second century CE might have played some role in enhancing such serious events such as the Bucolic revolt and its consequences, both in Egypt and in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Now, we refer to the Legio II Traiana in Alexandria to shed some light on its constitution, activities and its relations with the supreme authorities of Egypt and the Empire (the prefect and the emperor). Some epigraphical evidence from Alexandria cast some favorable light on such aspects. Most significant of this evidence is an inscription published for the first time by A.A. Aly in 1955,[44] and thoroughly commented and cited by many subsequent scholars.[45] It is a large statue-base of white marble found in 1939 at Mustafa Pasha (the legionary Roman Camp of Nicopolis) in honor of Emperor Antoninus Pius by a number of Roman veterans of the Legio II Traiana who were honorably discharged from service in 157 CE,[46] after 26 years of active service.

Those discharged veterans, at least 130 in number, were inscribed on the slab, each with his name and place of origin. The majority of them (89) were from Africa and the Danube, a minority (25) from the Eastern provinces, and only 15 from Italy, including 3 from Rome itself. G.F. Gilliam[47] raised an issue in need of interpretation concerning the ratios of such ethnic origins of the veterans listed in the inscription. Such ratios are in obvious contrast with the other epigraphic evidence which generally asserts the attitude (or policy) of the Roman army of local recruitment of enlisted soldiers from the province in which a legion is stationed, or from nearby places, which is not at all the case in the document in question! Gilliam suggested as a solution to this paradox and odd case the date of the release of the former soldiers in the document, 157 CE. It means that their recruitment took place 25 years or 26 years earlier, 132 or 133 CE. This latter date corresponds with the outbreak of the second Jewish Revolt in Palestine which the Legio II Traiana took part in crushing. Thus, necessity and emergency imposed the resorting to unusual sources of recruitment of new troops. It is a logical and convincing assumption which some other scholars adopted.[48]

The difference in this specific point is quite clear in an inscription which is similar in content, though smaller in size, from Alexandria, and from Nicopolis in particular. It is also a dedication by a group of honorably discharged former soldiers of the Legio II Traiana to the Emperor Septimius Severus, early in his reign during 194 CE.[49] While the recruitment of newly–enlisted soldiers in the former inscription of 157 CE came from faraway provinces, the majority from the West: Africa, the Danube lands, and a few from Italy; the case in the present document of 194 CE is totally different. The released former soldiers who had been enlisted as new recruits, as is manifestly stated in the inscription—in the consulship of Apronianus and Paulus, 168 CE, came from local origins in their majority, and few from near places. To reflect this situation explicitly and statistically from the numbers of the released as shown in the document, about 40 names enumerated whose origins are stated and known: 31 among them came from Egypt, 6 from Syria, 2 from Africa, and one from Bithynia, a striking contrast with the case of 157! A closer look to those recruited from Egypt in the document of 194 CE reveals that 23 from the 31 cases are designated as *castris*, belonging to the camp, 3 from Alexandria, 3 from Paraetonium, one from Tanis and one from Thebes.[50] Those under the category 'castris' could probably be citizens of the Greek cities of Egypt such as Naucratis, Ptolemais and Antinopolis, who were permitted to enlist in the Roman legions after being granted registration in the Roman tribe of Pollia, before the Constitutio Antoniniana of Caracalla in 212 CE. The Alexandrians were naturally allowed to join the Roman legions; and Paraetonium might have enjoyed, under the Romans, a privileged status, somewhat like the Greek cities. Ambiguity involves, however, the two cases of the legionary former soldiers from Thebes (col. I. line 10) and Tanis (col. I., line 15), whose towns of origin were beyond the sphere of the Greek cities in Egypt. This indicates that the rule (of the Greek cities) was not always strictly applied.[51]

A final point of interest in the present inscription of 194 CE is to encounter among the released veterans a '*tubicen*/trumpter' (col. I. line 7); his city of origin is Antioch in Syria. This brings to our attention the '*cornix* = *cornicen*/horn-blower' in line 2 of our epitaph, the topic of this article.

In addition to the two above–commented most significant inscriptions of 157 CE and 194 CE, from the headquarters of the Legio II Traiana at Nicopolis, Alexandria, that legion honored the emperors, prefects and other eminent personalities in other varied occasions. In another inscription from Alexandria dated 174 CE,[52] a dedication is offered to Emperor Marcus Aurelius on the occasion of the restoration of a fortress *praesidium* which had collapsed due to its antiquity *vetustate dilapsum*. This renovation was performed under the auspices of Gaius Calvisius Statianus, prefect of Egypt at that time, the implementation of the work was performed by Valerius Maximus, one of the centurions of the Legio II Traiana. F. Kayser suggests that at that time, 174 CE, that legion was, no doubt, outside Egypt, taking part in the wars of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomani; and that the remaining soldiers, left to maintain peace and security of the province, undertook the task of renovating the collapsing fortress, by orders of the prefect of Egypt.[53]

There are two other dedications left by the Legio II Traiana from Alexandria to some eminent magistrates in Alexandria and Egypt: the first is erected by Titus Voconius, prefect of the Legio II Traiana in 185 CE to honor Titus Longaeus Rufus, prefect of Egypt, a Praetorian prefect and a very eminent man. This dedication might have taken place in the occasion of his nomination to the magistracy of Praetorian prefect while he was still prefect of Egypt between January and October 185.[54] The second is dedicated, 223 CE by a certain Pacilius Tychianus, a centurion of *the* '*Leg(ionis) II Tr(aiana) f(ortis) [G(ermanicae) Sever (ianae)*' to Lucius Domitius Honoratus, the Praetorian Prefect and Very Eminent Man. The occasion of this dedication is most likely similar to the previous one, the promotion and nomination of Lucius Domitius Honoratus, who held the prefecture of Egypt in 222 CE to the higher magistracy and the title of *vir eminentissimus* in 223 CE.[55]

I hope that such sketches and stations of the Legio II Traiana in Egypt during the second and early third centuries CE are adequate in shedding some light on its existence, recruitment and some of its activities within and outside Egypt.

Notes

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1 The address is inaccurately recorded in the archives of the Eastern District of Alexandria as being in Sporting area; in fact it is located near the Mosque of Al-Tawheed in Cleopatra Hammamat.

2 The teamwork members of the trenches and excavation of this discovery are: Hasnaa Mahmoud Fahmy, Chief Inspector of the Eastern District of Alexandria, together with Inspectors: Aia Mohamed Taher, Eman Mohamed Abd-el-Zahir, Mahmoud Ahmed Mahmoud, Marian Samir Moreid, Marwa Adel Hussein and Nesreen Abd-el Karim Tawfiq (in alphabetical order).

3 A.S. Mahmoud, *Ancient Alexandria and its Antiquities* (in Arabic) (Alexandria, 2001), 40.

4 M. Haggag, *Lectures in Hellenic Architecture* (in Arabic) (Alexandria, 1998), 30. This sort of marble was cut from

the quarries of Mount Hymettus near Athens. See: H.W. Pullen, *A Handbook of Ancient Roman Marble* (London, 1894), 12, 14-15.

5 The Roman tunic is a loose shirt composed of two pieces of cloth, one above the other, sewn together. It had long sleeves and a belt tied to the waist. See: O. Seyffer, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art* (New York, 1895), 660.

6 I.F. Abd-el-Raheem, *The Aesthetic Values of Fashions in the Roman Mural Painting from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD — A Comparative Study* (in Arabic), (Unpublished PhD Diss., Cairo University, 2006), 38.

7 Abd-el-Raheem, *The Aesthetic Values of Fashions in the Roman Mural Painting from the 2nd century BC to the 4th Century AD*, 44.

8 S. Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages, A Study in Plastic Arts* (PhD Diss., Alexandria University, 2007), 418.

9 The yellow color was, unfortunately, removed by mistake in the Conservation Laboratory.

10 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 414.

11 E. Kadous, *A History of Art* (in Arabic) (Alexandria, 2001), 297-298.

12 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 420, 425.

13 J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (London, 1994), 154.

14 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 428.

15 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 428.

16 S. Henri, *Styles of Fashions in Ancient Times* (in Arabic) (Cairo, 2001), 76, 88.

17 Th. Hope, *The Costume of the Greeks and Romans* (New York, 1949), 63.

18 J. Sebsta, L. Banfante, *The World of Roman Costume* (Wisconsin, 2001), 232.

19 Hope, *The Costume of the Greeks and Romans*, 62.

20 Kybalova, Idmila, *et al.*, *The Pictorial Encyclopedia of Fashion* (London, 1972), 58.

21 G. Summer, *Roman Military Clothing: 100 BC – 200 AD* (London, 2002), 8.

22 W.M. Abd-el-Rahman, *Colours and their Significance in the Art of Painting in Roman Egypt* (in Arabic) (Unpublished MA thesis, Alexandria University, 2011), 314.

23 Corcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, 154.

24 W. Cornish, *A Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1898), 502.

25 C. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 2006), 147.

26 Alexander Scu, Cristina, 'The Iconography of Wind Instruments in Ancient Rome: Cornu, Bucina, Tuba and Litus', *Music in Art* 32 (2007), 33-34.

27 Cornish, *A Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 546.

28 L. Roman, M. Roman, *Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology*, (New York, 2010), 233-34.

29 L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (London, 1991), 81.

30 E. Breccia, *Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti, Inscriptiones nunc Alexandriae in Museo, Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Alexandrian Museum* (Alexandria, 1911), 480-496.

31 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire* (Paris, 1989), (in its English translation: R. Bate, *The Imperial Roman Army* (New York, 1994), 49. 'Each maniple (composed of two centuries) had a signum kept by a *signifier*, who led the way on the march and in combat, and who supervised in camp the money deposited under the shrine of the ensigns and also the market where soldiers bought their provisions'.

32 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, 49. '... mention must also be made of the *imaginifer* whose duty was to present the imperial bust or busts in ceremonials. It is not known whether there was one for each legion or for each deified Emperor'.

33 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, 49-50. 'Music was used for reveille and the changing of the guard, but its main function was tactical. In combat three

instruments were used: the straight trumpet *tuba* had to be obeyed by every soldier as it gave the signal to charge, or to retreat as well as to leave the camp. It was also used for sacred ceremonies. The horn *cornu*, a curved tuba reinforced with a metal bar, was obviously different. In combat it was blown for the bearers of the *signa*. Normally, trumpets and horns were played together to order the soldiers to advance towards the enemy or engage in hand-to-hand combat ....'. For a more detailed, though simplified, description of the peculiar and specific functions of certain soldiers and officers of the Roman legions, see the account provided by Flavius Vegetius, from the Fourth century CE, in his 'Epitoma Rei Militaris' (OCD under Vegetius) in a passage cited by Y. Le Bohec, 46-47.

34 L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (London, 1991), 81.

35 For the details of this point see: P. Sanger, 'Die Nomenklatur der Legio II Traiana Fortis im 3. Jh. n. Chr.', *ZPE* 169 (2009), 277-286.

36 M.P. Speidel, 'Centurions and Horsemen of Legio II Traiana', *Aegyptus* 66 no. 1/2 (1986), 163-168.

37 A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs, 332 BC – 642 AD* (London, 1986), 40.

38 M. Mor, 'Two Legions – The Same Fate? (The Disappearance of the Legions IX Hispana and XXII Deiotariana', *ZPE* 62 (1986), 267-278; L. Keppie, 'The History and Disappearance of the Legio XXII Deiotariana' in A. Kasher, U. Rappaport, G. Fucks (eds.), *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel : Collected Essays* (Jerusalem, 1990), 54-61.

39 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, 174.

40 A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*, 40; N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford, 1983), 16, 19-20.

41 E. Ritterling, 'Zur Geschichte der Legio II Traiana unter Traian', *Rheinsches Museum für Philologie* 58/2 (1903), 476 ff.; R.K. McElderry, 'The Second Legionary Camp in Palestine', *CQ* 2 (1908), 110-113; L. Keppie, 'The Legionary Garrison of Judaea under Hadrian', *Latomus* 32 (1973), 859-864; B. Isaac, I. Roll, 'Legio II Traiana in Judaea', *ZPE* 33 (1979), 149-155; idem, 'Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian's Reign', *Latomus* 38:1 (1979), 54-66; J. Rea, 'The legio II Traiana in Judaea?', *ZPE* 38 (1980), 220-221; B. Isaac, I. Roll, 'Legio II Traiana in Judaea – A Reply', *ZPE* 47 (1982), 131-132; M. Mor, 'The Roman Legions and the Bar-kokhba Revolt (132–35 AD)', in H. Vetter and M. Kandler (eds.), *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limes-kongresses 1986 in Carnuntum* 1 (1990), 163-178.

42 For a brief account of the Roman wars against the Parthians, and later against the Germanic tribes across the Danube during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus see: M. Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York, 1985), 88-95.

43 Cassius Dio – Epitome of Book 72. 12. 4. 1 - 2.

44 A.A. Aly, *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University* 3 (1955), 113-146.

45 For the list of scholars who further studied this important inscription after its first publication by A.A. Aly see: E. Birley, 'Some Legionary Centurions', *ZPE* 79 (1989), 114-128, 120; F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines* (non funéraires) *d'Alexandrie impériale* (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.), (Le Caire, 1994), no. 102, 305-306.

46 F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines* (non funéraires) *d'Alexandrie impériale* (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.), ll. 7-15 (of the dedicatory introduction): V e t e r a n i | leg(ionis) II Traian(ae) Fortis | qui militare coeperunt | Augurino et Sergiano co(n)s(ulibus) stip(endiorum XXVI | et Hibero et Sisenna co(n)s(ulibus), stip(endiorum XXVI | missi honesta missione sub | M(arco) Sempronio Librale | (vac.) praef(ecto) Aegypti (vac.) | L(ucio) Iulio Crescente praef(ecto) castror(um).

47 J.F. Gilliam, 'The Veterans and Praefectus Castrorum of the II Traiana in AD 157', *AJPh* 77 (1956), 359-375, 362 (on the Bar-kokhba revolt).

48 The same view is adopted by L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 84; F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.), 316.

49 CIL III. No. 6580 = F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.), no. 105, pp. 322-333.

50 F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.), commentary p. 333.

51 F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (Ier-IIIe s. apr. J.-C.), commentary p. 333.

52 Breccia, *Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti*, no. 73; F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (I[er]-III[e] s. apr. J.-C.), no. 104, pp. 318-321.

53 Breccia, Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti, no. 73; F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (I[er]-III[e] s. apr. J.-C.), 321.

54 Breccia, *Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti*, no. 161, F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (I[er]-III[e] s. apr. J.-C.), no. 18.

55 E. Breccia, no. 160 = F. Kayser, no. 19.

The Memorial of Metrodorus

Greek Stoichedon from North Africa

شاهد قبر 'مترودورس'

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ملخص

يقدم هذا البحث تحليلاً للأثر الجنائزي الذي يعتمد على التصوير الرائع للنص المكتوب والمُهدى للمتوفى. يعتقد أن المصدر الذي جاءت منه هذه اللوحة المصنوعة من الحجر الجيري التي تذكر اسم 'مترودورس' بن 'أبولونيدس' بن 'ميليتوس' هي مدينة نوقراطيس القديمة، مركز الوجود اليوناني قبل غزو الإسكندر الأكبر بسنوات طويلة. ويتميز النص الممتد عبر ستة أسطر بالتكوين الشبكي لـ Stoichedon والذي يعزز المستطيل الكلي للحجر بالإطار البارز. وتتميز نقوش الـ Stoichedon بالدمج بين العناصر المكتوبة المكونة للنص والخطوط الشبكية الخلفية. تتميز أشكال الحروف المكتوبة على الحجر بأنها كبيرة الحجر ودقيقة التنفيذ، إلا أن الشكل التخطيطي ودقة علامات الترقيم تشير إلى معنًى أعمق لتلك البساطة الظاهرة. ويرجح أن اللوحة تعود للقرن الخامس قبل الميلاد، ويتم مناقشتها هنا للمرة الأولى.

The memorial of Metrodorus is, on its simplest level, a six-line inscription written in Greek commemorating the deceased by name: Metrodorus; with patronymic: son of Apollonides; with demotic: of Miletus (figs. 1-2). Many, if not most, Greek funerary monuments when charted across all periods of Greek epigraphy limit the commemoration to precisely these three elements. They may be accompanied by some other relief embellishment, which the Metrodorus monument does not have beyond the plain raised border that carefully frames the inscription a full 2.5 cm on all four sides. The outer dimensions of the limestone plaque are 38.4 cm high and 36.4 cm wide, almost a perfect square. The inscription is written in the first person. The monument itself is speaking, not the deceased, again not unusual, but we observe that it necessarily includes the nomenclature in the genitive and hence privileges the monument to the fullest extent.

There are two things, however, that begin to distinguish this monument and elevate it in our estimation. The first is its provenance, important for the North African focus of the conference. The inscribed plaque most likely is from the site of ancient Naukratis, located in the western Delta, core of the Greek presence in Egypt from the period of the Saïte pharaohs. Under Pharaoh Amasis II, the port of trade was officially awarded to the Greeks for their loyal military service towards the king, although archaeological evidence indicates Greeks inhabited Naukratis from the foundation of the Saïte Dynasty by Psammetichus I in the mid-seventh century BCE. Among other colonial groups, a population of transplanted Milesians resided there. Strabo, in fact, credits the Milesians with the actual foundation of Naukratis (17.1.18), while early graffiti recorded by W.M.F. Petrie in the precinct of Apollo Milesios date just after the first quarter of the sixth century BCE (c. 569).[1] Naukratis would boast 'temples' to Amun-Re and Thoth in addition to an array of Greek deities connected to the individual polis contingents. The most famous temple establishment, according to Herodotus (2.178-179), was the Hellenion, and it was co-founded by a full range of poleis, including Miletus, with the earliest archaeological evidence likewise dating back to the first quarter of the sixth century, namely during the reign of Amasis II.[2]

It is interesting to consider our inscription in the organizational context of the *Catalogue Général* for Egyptian Antiquities in the Cairo Museum, where it exists today (JE 31183). In the volume *Greek Inscriptions* edited by J.G. Milne and published in 1905, which must still serve as a fundamental resource for this subject, there are a total of seventy-two funerary stelae and inscriptions in Greek from locations throughout Egypt—a large category compared to State decrees (ten in number), honorific inscriptions (fourteen), religious regulations (thirty-eight). Out of the seventy-two grave markers, thirty-five are from Delta sites, with another eight from Alexandria. Out of the thirty-five, only two are considered from Naukratis. The Metrodorus monument is so judged on the basis of its alphabet and dialect, as well as the claim on the part of the original seller to the Giza Museum that the piece had been brought from Damanhour, ancient Hermopolis Parva, just to the northwest of Naukratis.[3]

The date in Milne for Metrodorus is given as fourth century BCE.[4] The other monument (JE 27753) commemorating Apollos, son of Thalinos, is far more secure, with Petrie's own label showing Naukratian provenance.[5] Milne dates this stele to the fifth century BCE.[6] The design of the Apollos monument is very different from that of Metrodorus, and this is instructional. Rectangular rather than squared in format, decorated with the relief of a

double-leaved door set within a post-and-lintel framework, and crowned with cavetto molding, it is reminiscent of an Egyptian false door as well the door motif most popular in later Ptolemaic loculus slabs.[7]

I suggest that the Metrodorus memorial, and perhaps the Apollos memorial as well, served as loculus slabs in the cemetery at Naukratis. As a consequence, both monuments would directly supply valuable information in determining one important method of burial at the site during that period. As pointed out by Marjorie Venit, 'loculuslike burials are well attested in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt. They are a feature of Late Period necropolises of deified animals at North Saqqara, the necropolis (and cult center from the late New Kingdom onward) of Memphis, through much of Egyptian history the most important city in Egypt. Memphis was early connected with both Greeks and Macedonians'.[8] The tooling of the sides and back of the Metrodorus monument deserves special mention in this regard. All four sides, which are 5.8 cm deep, are finished with strong parallel grooves running at right angles to, or at a slight angle to, the edge of the stone (figs. 3-4). The grooves are made with the flat chisel, executed regularly and with care. The back has more of a rough-hewn appearance, but the evenness and depth is consistently maintained (fig. 5). The impression that the inscribed stone was custom-made to fit, sliding into an opening and closing it effectively, is very strong. While one might have expected more funerary comparanda from such a site, the location of Naukratis in the Delta environment and the extreme archaeological difficulties incumbent on that topography from the time of Petrie and Gardner onwards, are well known.[9] The very survival of something like the Metrodorus monument is in itself noteworthy. However, interest in the cemetery has reasserted itself, especially now with the work of the British Museum Naukratis Project, which completed a season of fieldwork in October 2012, at the very time of the Forum itself.[10]

The second distinguishing aspect concerns the exceptional treatment of the simple elements composing this memorial. We are speaking of the palaeography and layout of the stone. The alphabetic letterforms of the inscription are arranged in a gridded stoichedon formation that reinforces the overall square of the plaque with its raised frame. Stoichedon inscriptions are characterized by the manipulation of the written elements composing a text with respect to an underlying grid. The Greeks made this layout the hallmark of their most distinct epigraphic style, flowering in the fifth century BCE but continuing well into the fourth and in various revivals or attempts at archaizing in later periods. It has been the aim of my research on the subject to understand the geometry of this style and its manifestations, particularly at the point of origin. I have recently argued that Egypt should be considered as the motivating impulse behind the Greek experimentation with the grids that ultimately characterize the stoichedon style.[11] The full Egyptian grid system, canonized for treatment of the human body as early as the Middle Kingdom and used for the organization of hieroglyphic inscriptions as well, continued into the New Kingdom, Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman Periods. What subtle changes in the canon of proportions that occurred at various points along this timespan are very important, but so is the continuity of the grid as the device for proportional composition. In the sixth century BCE, it would have been easily transmittable through just such a trading center as Naukratis to the larger Greek culture beyond.

The description by Diodorus Siculus (I.98.5-9) of the methodology employed by the sixth century Samian sculptors Theodoros and Telekles, each making half of the cult statue of Pythian Apollo following the Egyptian canon of proportions and then successfully joining the parts, attests to the Greek interest in modular proportion at this critical

moment. The earliest Greek stoichedon probably occurs in Samos, not in Athens, ca. 560 BCE as evidenced by the inscribed dedication by Cheramyes (fig. 6) from the Samian Heraion in the Vathy Museum.[12] Even if the story of Theodoros and Telekles is anecdotal, as suggested by J.J. Pollitt,[13] the principle of modular proportion is not. The transmittal of the principle of canonization from Egypt through Samos makes sense, especially since the Samians were among the first colonists at Naukratis. There are important early examples of Miletus' interest in alignment and lettering as well, the most exceptional being the remains of a calendar of offerings reused in the later Delphinion at Miletus and tentatively dated by L.H. Jeffery 525-500 BCE.[14] Despite the governance of the strong horizontal guidelines seen on the boustrophedon inscription, the careful spacing and alignment of the letterforms suggest that this, too, is stoichedon. Even the label for the inscription at Berlin's Altes Museum describes it this way: 'The characters are evenly distributed like in a grid and the lines are to be read alternately left to right and right to left'.[15] In my definition of the style, I make a distinction in how the alignment can be manipulated. The even placement of letterforms within the grid matrix, each letterform within its unit, or stoichos, with no empty spaces, and hence aligned with the one above and below, to the right and to the left, I define as rectified stoichedon.[16] If the centering changes in any way, up to the alternation of a full space on the grid, still deploying the letterforms in alignment but not directly below each other, this I define as offset stoichedon.[17] The effect is in the manner of an isodomic wall construction. For Greek epigraphy in general, this format has never before been recognized as stoichedon. Despite privileging the horizontal drive of the text by means of guidelines and boustrophedon arrangement, the Miletus calendar nevertheless demonstrates the principle of offset stoichedon.

The power of the stoichedon layout of the Metrodorus inscription lies in its perfection of numbers and spacing. The letterforms are arranged in six vertical rows and six horizontal rows, thirty-six total stoichoi or units with no visible guidelines, painted or incised. The height and length of each row, whether vertical or horizontal, is 25.0 cm, making the dimensions of the stoichos unit 4.2 sq. cm. The average letterform height, and it is extremely consistent for both rounded and upright forms, is between 3.0 cm and 3.5 cm; only the omega is short, measuring 2.5 cm on average. The Metrodorus inscription is rectified stoichedon in its entirety, one of the finest and most regular that I have ever seen.

The palaeography is in accord with the scrupulous alignment of the layout. These are monoline letterforms with no variation intended in the width of the stroke, which stands at 3 mm. This means the ratio of the width of the stroke to the height of the letterform is around 1:10. There is no appreciable swelling of the stroke at any point along its length, and no serif, and the strokes are deeply cut. Noticeable also is the peculiar, plaster-like inclusion in the channels of numerous letterforms, visible in several of the photographs and noted in my facsimile drawing as well.[18] As mentioned above, the letterform height is remarkably consistent; whatever variation there is, is also consistent, creating families of letterforms. Tabulating the dynamic between letterform height and width is how I begin the analysis of the alphabet of any given inscription, the full treatment of which is not possible here. It is worth mentioning as a starting point, however, that the omega, already identified as the only letterform that drops significantly from the common height, is also the widest letterform, the horizontal extent of its arms even occupying the full width of the stoichos unit the first time we read the letterform at the beginning of line two. Of the three occurrences of omega in the inscription, this example

best demonstrates the form with perfect clarity and balance. Omega is the quintessential Ionic letterform, a family unto itself.

In any Greek alphabet, the two most basic geometric shapes, the line and the circle, stand in their own right as vowels in addition to contributing to the formation of all other letters or grammata. In the Milesian alphabet of the Metrodorus inscription, the basic vertical orthostat is the iota and the full circle is the omicron. These letters help set and refine the 3.0-3.5 cm range. Interestingly enough, both of them measure at the low end of this range for the majority of their occurrences (four each) over the inscription. This might not be surprising for the omicron, which traditionally is a smaller letterform in the development of Greek epigraphy; but it is surprising for the iota. Yet the ultimate and penultimate letters of the inscription are an iota and an omicron at the end of line six, and both are clearly and deliberately outsized: 3.7 cm for the iota and 3.9 cm for the omicron (fig. 7). The entire last line gives the appearance of added height: the sigma (fig. 8) is a full half-centimeter taller than its only other occurrence in line three. The result is a strong, magnified sense to the closing line completing the genitive for the family's demotic origins, with the 'matching' iota and omicron at the end doing their full share in creating an emphatic visual closure.

The large scale and careful geometric sensibility of the overall inscription recalls the high quality of *IG* I^3 4, the Hekatompedon inscription itself (fig. 9), dated early fifth century BCE from the Athenian Acropolis, and with which I have spent much time in study and drawing. Over and over, it is said we cannot date by letterform, yet we can certainly ballpark and with proper caution, certain letterforms are considered diagnostic in the chronological sense, especially for an epichoric alphabet. In the first publication of the Metrodorus plaque by P. Jouguet in the *BCH* of 1896, the inscription is not dated. Subsequently, the *Catalogue général* dates it to the fourth century BCE, but with no discussion why. The *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inscriften*, also published in 1905, leaves out the date but points to the epsilon 'still' rendered with equal-length horizontals, and the smaller omega.[19] A. Wilhelm, picturing an 'Abklatsch' of the inscription in his *Beiträge* of 1909, introduces it as an example of the pure, fieldlike-quality that stoichedon is capable of achieving, which any admission of word or line break will destroy, something he finds that Attica does early in the history of the style,[20] but still no date for the Metrodorus inscription. The JE entry just calls it 'Late', clearly in relationship to the Pharaonic timeline. This is the full bibliography I have compiled on the stone, yet the issue of date has not been adequately addressed for this, one of the most important Greek inscriptions in all of Egypt.

Something else that recalls the Hekatompedon inscription is the grand-scale use of the three-point interpunct; and as with the Hekatompedon, the punctuation of the Metrodorus inscription furnishes the key to how the inscription really works. Here is where literal content and visualization come face-to-face. This funerary monument may not have relief, but it has punctuation, very strategically placed. Yet we find it only in the first three lines (fig. 10). Three-point interpuncts occur three times within these three lines, the first securing the exact center of line two, between the omicron signalling the end of Metrodorus' name in the genitive and the epsilon of εἰμί (fig. 11). No additional stoichos is ever added to accommodate the punctuation. The second and third interpuncts are symmetrically placed in line three between the first and second stoichoi and between the fifth and sixth stoichoi. They separate εἰμί and σῆμα in the first case (fig. 12), and σῆμα and the genitive for Apollonides, Metrodorus' father, in the second (fig. 13). The placement of these two

interpuncts is structurally symmetrical and perfectly frames the word σῆμα, yet the one on the left is cut vertically between the iota and sigma, while the one on the right is cut diagonally between the alpha and tau, following the right oblique of the alpha. That variation is nothing short of brilliant, as the triangular shape, which has been symmetrically blocked out, is composed asymmetrically by the treatment of the two lower interpuncts in relationship to the first: two vertically composed, one on the diagonal. Word by word, Μητροδώρο εἰμί σῆμα takes on special power precisely because of these three-point interpuncts (fig. 11). Likewise, the power of the pyramidal triangle now imbedded within the inscription created by the punctuation framing the word σῆμα is no accident. Directly underneath the triangle, the patronymic fused with its demotic, occupies three lines, just like the first half of the inscription, but without punctuation (fig. 14). Just as surely, this is no accident. The very foundation for exactly who Metrodorus is and for the σῆμα that consequently speaks for him—that is to say his identity vis-à-vis the first generation behind him, namely his father, and the ancestral polis behind that—is the subject matter of the second set of three lines and is treated as a solid mass of letterforms. There can be no punctuation allowed in the second half of the inscription, both from the standpoint of content and visual display. The perfection of the placement of the three-point interpuncts in the first three lines penetrates and begins to explicate the whole display. What occurs here qualifies for the definition of concrete poetry: where the shape and formation of a piece of writing fuse with the literal content of its text to produce meaning beyond what each is capable of producing separately.

To what purpose in the memorial of Metrodorus is this phenomenon taking place? Granted that the palaeography and layout are remarkable, a model indeed of the rectified stoichedon style, but this is more. Beginning with the perfect square, the six-by-six horizontal rows crossed by vertical columns, the ample accommodation of the thirty-six letterforms in proportion, the first-person address in three words, separation of these three words and the flagging of the word σῆμα using three three-point interpuncts, the resultant triangle crowning the three lines of massed text below—all of these elements have been numerically orchestrated for the perpetuation of the memory of this man on a completely different level. This level may be understood better by the host culture than the Greeks settling in Naukratis: it involves concretization of form, however real or abstract the composing elements may be and the role of magic in activating them. In no area is this more critical, as evidenced from the whole of Egyptian civilization, than the funerary. I believe that this inscription was intended as something akin to a magical word square. R.P. Austin, who wrote about the stoichedon style in the late 1930s, described a word square or crossword as 'a group of letters set out in such a fashion that they make straight lines horizontally and columns vertically, and form intelligible words when read in either direction'.[21] While the Metrodorus inscription is stoichedon rectified, it is not a *bona fide* word square, nor is it an acrostic. It is, however, utterly preoccupied with mathematics and proportion and replete with what can only be termed numerological symbolism from its sheer repetitiveness of the number three. It is a unique take on a magical word square, playing with the positioning of letterforms to some degree as though they were numbers. The presence of the magical word square is known on Egyptian soil, most famously in the much later Stele of Moschion, a bilingual Greek and demotic dedication that has been dated end of second century, beginning of third century CE.[22] That date, like the Metrodorus inscription, needs reevaluation. I am hard pressed not to say more here about the Stele of Moschion, especially as it undoubtedly is from

Sakha.[23] Today, the body fragment is in Berlin (fig. 15) and the lunette portion is in Cairo (fig. 16); but assuredly the stele continues to be a critical player in my study on the stoichedon style because of its nearly intact Greek grid and the rare occurrence of the word stoichedon in its text that explicates and justifies the offset definition I have given.

John Onians in his classic study, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*, references the phenomenon of fusing form with literal content as occurring frequently in the development of the epigram in the Hellenistic period, one of the best examples being 'Ὁ Βωμός' or 'The Altar' by Dosiadas.[24] Such a visual interplay between word and image, where the shape of the poem imitates its contents, is known as a technopaignion or a 'game of skill'. Onians prefers the word symbolon.[25] Dosiadas' technopaignion or symbolon, composed of iambic rhythms, sets itself up as a dedication made by the mythic hero Jason. Even more importantly, Onians suggests that the Hellenistic period was disposed towards this flourishing play on words and images because 'the essential characteristic of these poems is their reference to a system of written communication relying not on an alphabet but on the use of representations of men, animals, plants, and other objects'.[26] The writing system which by its nature incorporated the model of this interface at its foundation was the Egyptian hieroglyphic, known to the Greeks from their earliest contact with the host culture, even as the grid must also have been. Ultimately, the Hellenistic world, whose acknowledged capital was Alexandria in Egypt, could intensify in a highly sophisticated, multi-cultural environment, that 'essential equivalence between word and image', as Onians puts it,[27] which in the end produced such a prodigy as an alphabetized hieroglyph: something like the altar epigram of Dosiadas. Despite its simplicity, the Metrodorus inscription has this kind of sophistication.

Would this suggest, then, that the Metrodorus inscription is Hellenistic in date? Far from it, in my opinion. I am disturbed even by the fourth century date in the *Catalogue Général.* The Metrodorus inscription has a significant affinity to one Milesian inscription in particular that we have already seen, the religious calendar extracted from the Delphinion at Miletus. By definition, the calendar qualifies as an early example of offset stoichedon, probably late sixth century as already stated. While more archaic in appearance because of a mixing of diagnostic forms, the generous size and spacing of its letters and the powerful omicron are strongly reminiscent of the Metrodorus memorial; of equal importance is the prolific use of triple interpuncts, strategically placed in accordance with the needs of the text. Just as in the Hekatompedon inscription, the triple interpuncts are accompanied by more complex punctuation, in the case of the calendar a five-point interpunct. Indeed, as Jeffery states, the calendar 'has been well compared with that of the famous 'Hekatompedon' inscriptions from the Acropolis in Athens'.[28] The fact that the Metrodorus, on its own terms, bears comparison with both the Milesian calendar and the Hekatompedon says much for the inscription. Its ties to the late Archaic and early Classical are strengthened even more through another fragmentary stele with sacred content built into the Delphinion at Miletus.[29] This inscription is much tighter and irregular in format than the calendar, more densely inscribed on four sides and combining pockets of offset and rectified stoichedon, but still directly comparable in palaeography to certain diagnostic letterforms of the Metrodorus memorial, notably the even-barred epsilon that attracted attention in the 1905 *Sammlung* publication. On another trajectory which may, in fact, prove to bring all of this together, Jeffery refers to the so-called 'Milesian' alphabetic numeral system, found as early as the sixth century BCE in

vase graffiti.[30] More work is needed to substantiate Miletus' actual role in the development of the Ionic alphabetic numeral system, which will eventually replace the acrophonic system in Attica; but the equation of letterforms with numerals is an activity definitely to be associated with the polis of Miletus at an early stage; and numerology, as we have seen, is to be associated with this inscription.

In conclusion, the claim this funerary inscription has for a significant role in the development of the stoichedon style in Egypt is great. It is earlier than the fourth century BCE, very likely early fifth century, and a precursor through its image-creating punctuation of nothing less than a Hellenistic technopaignion, some two-hundred years ahead of its time. Even as the owner of the memorial himself is so grounded, the inscription appears very well-grounded in its Milesian epigraphic heritage, which includes evidence for the burgeoning stoichedon style in the late Archaic period. The Metrodorus inscription demonstrates the true perfection of the rare stoichedon arrangement in Egypt because of its unique properties as a would-be word square using numerological symbolism that may require the host culture to fully decipher. On one level, the Metrodorus inscription is all about letters, numbers, and proportions and we observe it fulfils its job very well. But the Egyptian necessity for a memorial that functions effectively on more than one level of reality, one of those being the magical, takes the letterforms in their stoichedon matrix and weaves in the eternal.

Notes

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1 L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1969); rev. ed., A.W. Johnston (Oxford, 1991), 332. See also J.W. Drijvers, 'Strabo 17.1.18 (801C): 'Inaros, the Milesians and Naucratis', *Mnemosyne* 52 (February 1999): 16-22.

2 J.M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World ca. 1200479- BCE* (Malden, MA, 2007), 243-244. The Hellenion may be described as an emporium as much as a temple or sanctuary, under magisterial administration by the poleis involved.

3 P. Jouguet, 'Naucratis. Note de M. Jouguet', *BCH* 20 (1896), 250.

4 J.G. Milne, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Greek Inscriptions* (Cairo, 1905; reprint Osnabrück, 1977), no. 9241, 60.

5 Milne, *Catalogue général*, no. 9220, 59, and plate 2.

6 Milne, *Catalogue général*, no. 9220, 60.

7 M.S. Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theatre of the Dead* (Cambridge, 2002), 17.

8 Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria*, 16.

9 Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World*, 243.

10 R.I. Thomas, and A. Villing, 'Naukratis revisited 2012: Integrating new fieldwork and old research', *BMSAES* 20 (2013), 81–125, especially 91 and figs. 8 and 13. See http://www. britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_20/thomas&villing.aspx for the electronic version.

I am grateful to Ross Thomas of the British Museum excavation team presently working at Naukratis for referring me to their newly-published 2012 field report that includes updated information on the cemetery and where it was located, and to both Alexandra Villing

and Ross Thomas for speaking with me at the site in October 2012 on the last day of their season there.

11 P.A. Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoichedon Style, Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 16 (Leiden, 2010), 77-103.

12 Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoichedon Style*, 93. The Phrasiklea inscription, considered a major contender in Attica for early stoichedon, is dated by Jeffery to 540 BCE, hence twenty years later than the Cheramyes dedication (*The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Attica no. 29, 78).

13 J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (Cambridge, 1990), 28.

14 Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Miletos no. 33, 335.

15 Bilingual label for the calendar of offerings from Miletus in the Altes Museum, Berlin (English text). Transcribed by the author, August 2012.

16 P.A. Butz, 'The Double Publication of a Sacred Prohibition on Delos: *ID* 68, A and B', *BCH* 118 (1994), 93, n. 64. This is the first publication in which I introduced my definitions of rectified and offset stoichedon. They are further explained in *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*.

17 Butz, *BCH* 118, 93, n. 64.

18 Attention was brought to the staff at the Egyptian Museum about this phenomenon, and further examination and testing of the substance by the Conservation Department is recommended to determine the age of the substance and what it is. There is a faint bluish cast to some of the inclusions, suggesting that the infill was deliberate, but at what time? There is no other presence of a plaster-like substance, as would occur in a reuse capacity, on the stone.

19 H. Collitz, and F. Bechtel (eds.), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, vol. 2, part 2 (Göttingen, 1905), no. 5513. The cursory remarks call the lettering 'Gewöhnliche Schrift'.

20 A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Wien, 1909; reprint, Hildesheim, 1909), 17.

21 R.P. Austin, 'Across and Down', *Greece and Rome* 8 (1939), 129.

22 *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 8.464; see also Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoichedon Style*, 106-111.

23 O. Guéraud, 'La stèle gréco-démotique de Moschion', *BSA Alex.* 31 (1937), 163. Sakha, of course, qualifies as a North African location as well.

24 J. Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic World: The Greek View 350-50 BC* (London, 1979), 111.

25 Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic World*, 111.

26 Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic World*, 112.

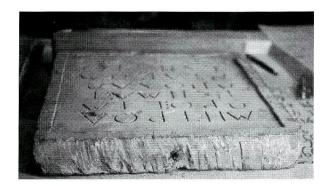
27 Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic World*, 108.

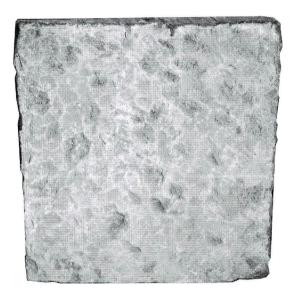
28 Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 335.

29 Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Miletos no. 39, 335.

30 Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 39, 327.

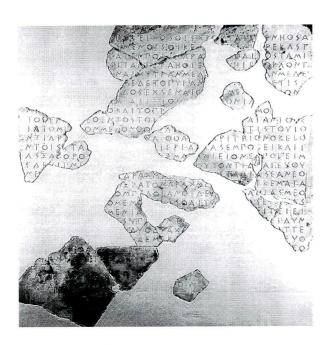
(Fig. 1) The memorial of Metrodorus (JE 31183) in the storerooms of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Plaque positioned to show raised frame on all four sides. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 2) The memorial of Metrodorus. Close up of inscription. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 3) View of the top edge of the plaque showing parallel groove marks. Author's photograph.

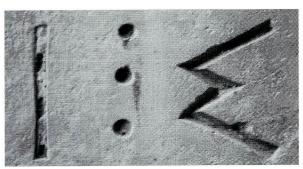
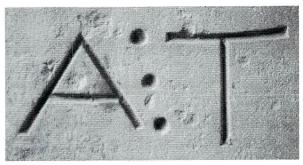
(Fig. 4) View of the left side of the plaque showing parallel groove marks. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 5) View of the back of the plaque showing texture and consistency of treatment over the roughened surface. Author's photograph.

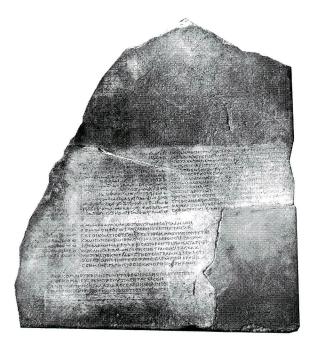
(Fig. 6) Detail of the dedication of the Cheramyes kore at Samos, where the inscription turns stoichedon. Pictured also in Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*, 93. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 7) Author's facsimile drawing of lines 3-6.

(Fig. 8) Detail of line 6. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 9) *IG* I³ 4, B. Epigraphical Museum photograph and Butz, x.

(Fig. 10) Metrodorus interpuncts. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 11) First interpunct, line 2. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 12) Second interpunct, line 3. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 13) Third interpunct, line 3. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 14) The last three lines of the memorial of Metrodorus with no punctuation, crowned by the word σῆμα. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 15) The 'Berlin Fragment' (ÄM 2135) of the Stele of Moschion with the two gridded texts, one in Demotic Egyptian and one in Greek, still partially preserved on the upper left and right at the breakline. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin photograph. Pictured in Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*, 107.

(Fig. 16) Detail of the 'Cairo Lunette' (JE 63160), Stele of Moschion in the Egyptian Museum. The picture is cropped, but the curve of the lunette is seen on the left. A variant on the word stoichedon appears on the lunette as well (in last line of longest section of text pictured). Author's photograph.

Une inscription du roi Djer au Sud-Sinaï : la première phrase écrite en hiéroglyphes ?

نقش الملك جر في جنوب سيناء: هل يعتبر أول جملة مكتملة مكتوبة بالهيروغليفية؟

Pierre Tallet*

ملخص

يعتبر وادي الحُمُر في جنوب سيناء منطقة أثرية حديثة الكشف، تم العثور في هذا الوادي على أسماء لملوك مصريين تعود لأواخر عصر ما قبل الأسرات؛ حيث عثر على أسماء للملوك: 'إيري حقر'، 'كا'، 'نعرمر'. وتظهر لنا إحدى اللوحات المنحوتة على الصخر علامة السرخ الخاصة بالملك 'جر' (ثالث ملوك الأسرة الأولى)، بالإضافة إلى العديد من العلامات الهيروغليفية التي تُسمّي بعض موظفي هذا العصر. ويرتبط بهذا الملك نص قصير مكتوب بالخط الهيروغليفي، ومن المحتمل أن يكون أول جملة مكتملة كُتبت بالهيروغليفية على الإطلاق.

La dernière campagne archéologique effectuée au Sud-Sinaï par la mission jointe de l'Université Paris-IV Sorbonne et de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale a permis en septembre 2012 la découverte d'un nouveau site pharaonique, jusqu'ici totalement inconnu, au ouadi 'Ameyra (nord du ouadi el-Homr)[1] (Fig. 1). Le site se caractérise par la présence d'une grande quantité de petits cairns de pierre qui ont été aménagés, sans doute pour des raisons votives, sur un plateau rocheux qui marquait peut-être aux yeux des Egyptiens un point d'entrée dans la zone minière d'extraction du cuivre et de la turquoise. A l'ouest du site, sur une paroi de grès qui se trouve à la limite de ce plateau, apparaît une série exceptionnelle d'inscriptions qui commémorent sans doute les toutes premières expéditions qui ont été envoyées au Sinaï depuis la vallée du Nil aux origines de la civilisation pharaonique. On relève ainsi, entre autres, les représentations de grandes barques, surmontées de *serekh* et de noms royaux, qui témoignent de la présence sur le site d'équipes contemporaines des règnes de Iry-Hor, Ka et Narmer, respectivement les deux derniers souverains connus de la « dynastie 0 », elle-même contemporaine de la naissance de l'Etat égyptien, et le premier roi de la I^{re} dynastie[2] (Fig. 2). Cette documentation, en cours d'étude, est dans son ensemble très importante pour mieux connaître les premiers temps de l'histoire égyptienne, et plus spécifiquement l'histoire de la région du Sud-Sinaï elle-même, où les Egyptiens ont sans doute été présents cinq siècles plus tôt que l'on ne le pensait jusqu'ici.[3] A gauche des inscriptions de ces rois, un dernier panneau rocheux a été gravé au temps de Djer, deuxième successeur de Narmer et troisième roi de la I^{re} dynastie. Le *serekh* de ce souverain, où son nom

(Fig. 1) Carte montrant la localisation du nouveau site du ouadi 'Ameyra.

(Fig. 2) Vue générale du rocher inscrit depuis le sud.

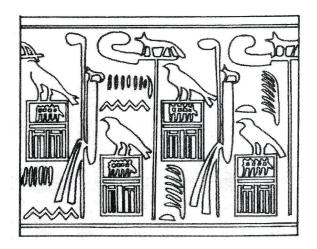
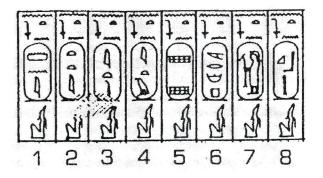
est encore bien lisible en dépit de l'érosion, apparaît à droite de la composition (Fig. 3). Le faucon qui est perché dessus brandit dans ses pattes une massue, et l'on trouve devant lui la représentation d'un ennemi réduit à l'impuissance, dans une attitude suppliante.[4] Une cité vaincue du nom de *Pš* apparaît également dans ce tableau.[5] Sur le reste du panneau rocheux, de très nombreuses légendes hiéroglyphiques permettent également d'identifier des personnages de l'entourage de ce roi, au premier rang desquels on compte la reine Neith-Hotep, qui exerça sans doute une régence au début de son long règne (Fig. 4).[6] Mais le plus exceptionnel est probablement la formule qui apparaît, cette fois-ci, à l'extrémité gauche du rocher et qui pourrait être l'une des plus anciennes phrases à avoir été notée dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique (Fig. 5). On lit ainsi la séquence suivante, dans une écriture de gros module parfaitement lisible, bien que la partie inférieure du *p* □ ait été endommagée par l'érosion :

Cette légende peut paraître énigmatique à première vue, mais une confrontation de ces quelques signes avec le reste de la documentation correspondant

(Fig. 3) *Serekh* du roi Djer, dont le faucon tient une massue, devant la représentation d'un ennemi vaincu.

(Fig. 4) Inscription mentionnant la reine Neith-Hotep.

(Fig. 5) Inscription hiéroglyphique à gauche du panneau de Djer.

au règne de Djer permet sans doute de trouver sa signification. En effet, le nom propre *Ỉt* apparaît clairement sur une empreinte de sceau contemporaine du règne de ce roi : il est placé sur ce document en association étroite avec le *serekh* de Djer (Fig. 6).[7] L'opinion développée par P. Kaplony, dans son ouvrage de référence sur les inscriptions archaïques, est que ce nom pourrait désigner dans ce cas précis l'héritier présomptif de la couronne, associé ainsi à son père.[8] D'autres chercheurs pensent cependant que l'association des deux noms sur le sceau est plus simplement un moyen d'établir un rapport entre le nom de naissance du roi (It) et son nom d'Horus, adopté lors du couronnement (Djer).[9] Cette deuxième option nous semble beaucoup plus séduisante et elle pourrait d'ailleurs trouver une confirmation dans une documentation bien plus tardive. La table des rois qui figure dans le temple abydénien de Séthi I[er] fait en effet

(Fig. 6) Empreinte de sceau du roi Djer associant son nom à celui de *Ỉt*.

(Fig. 7) Extrait de la table d'Abydos de Séthi I[er] enregistrant les noms des rois de la I[re] dynastie. Le roi Djer y apparaît sous le nom de *Ỉti*.

apparaître, au début de sa première ligne, les noms des rois de la première dynastie.[10] Si l'on admet que Djer est bien le troisième roi de cette lignée à avoir régné sur l'Egypte, son nom est enregistré, de façon un peu surprenante, sous la forme de *Ỉti*, à la suite de deux autres souverains, qui sont appelés *Mni* et *Tti*, qui doivent quant à eux correspondre respectivement à Narmer et Aha (Fig. 7). La documentation égyptienne a donc manifestement conservé le souvenir de ce nom de naissance de Djer pendant près de deux millénaires, entre le règne du souverain en question (c. 3150 av. J.-C.) et celui du deuxième roi de la XIX[e] dynastie (c. 1290 av. J.-C.). A la lumière de tous ces éléments, la traduction de cette inscription de Djer nous semble être clairement *Ḥr p(w) Ỉt* : « C'est Horus, *Ỉt* », une affirmation qui pourrait avoir une raison d'être tout à fait logique – celle d'une véritable proclamation –, si le panneau rocheux qui la porte a été précisément gravé au tout début du règne de ce roi, ce que la présence du nom de la régente Neith-Hotep dans le même ensemble d'inscriptions semble démontrer. Nous aurions donc ici, peut-être pour la première fois, un véritable énoncé autonome – une « proposition à prédicat substantival » reposant sur l'emploi d'un pronom *pw* invariable, servant de sujet,[11] et non seulement des mots servant de légende à une scène figurée ou d'éléments d'identification dans un processus comptable.

Car, comme l'ont souligné depuis longtemps P. Vernus,[12] et plus récemment J. Baines,[13] le processus de développement de l'écriture a été extrêmement long en Egypte. Le système de notation des hiéroglyphes est déjà en germe à la période de Nagada IIIA (c. 3250 av. J.-C.), comme en témoigne la découverte récente dans la tombe U-j d'Abydos de plusieurs centaines d'étiquettes inscrites de motifs qui sont souvent parfaitement identifiables comme les prototypes de signes bien connus par la suite dans l'histoire égyptienne.[14] Les premiers textes véritables suivis, présentant un énoncé complexe, ne sont en revanche pas attestés avant la III[e] dynastie (c. 2700 av. J.-C.). Dans l'intervalle de plus de cinq siècles qui s'étend entre ces deux dates, on voit progressivement se développer la pratique d'insérer des « énoncés-titres » dans une documentation essentiellement d'ordre iconographique à des fins d'identification des faits, des objets et des personnages mis en jeu. A la fin du prédynastique et au début de la I[re] dynastie, sous la « dynastie 0 » et dans le matériel associé notamment à Narmer et Aha, ces énoncés se limitent le plus souvent à un mot isolé, placé en relation étroite avec la représentation d'un personnage. A partir du règne de Den, ces formules ont tendance à devenir

plus complexes, comme par exemple sur l'étiquette de ce roi conservée au British Museum, où la représentation du souverain en train de massacrer un ennemi réduit à l'impuissance se lit *sp tpi skr i3bt* : « la première fois de frapper l'Orient ».[15] De telles formulations deviennent de plus en plus fréquentes, au fur et à mesure que l'on avance dans le temps, sur les étiquettes commémoratives de bois et d'ivoire qui ont été régulièrement produites jusqu'à la fin de la Ire dynastie – celles qui sont attribuables aux règnes de Semerkhet et Qaa, derniers roi de cette séquence, reposant presque exclusivement sur l'usage de l'écriture pour noter de cette façon les événements qu'elles enregistrent.[16]

L'inscription de Djer dont il est question ici se distingue toutefois assez clairement de ces « énoncés-titres ». Si sa formulation demeure très simple, elle n'en est pas moins, de façon indiscutable, un énoncé autonome, véhiculant une affirmation simple sur l'identité du roi mis en jeu ; et ce sans être placée en relation directe avec une représentation à laquelle elle servirait de légende. Elle est à notre connaissance, au tout début de la Ire dynastie, la première phrase *stricto sensu* à avoir été notée dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique.

Notes

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1 La campagne, dirigée par Pierre Tallet (Université Paris-IV Sorbonne, UMR 8167 « Orient et Méditerranée » du CNRS), s'est déroulée du 8 au 18 septembre 2012. Y ont participé : François Briois (CNRS, UMR 5608), Damien Laisney (CNRS, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée) et Béatrix Midant-Reynes (IFAO). Le Conseil Suprême des Antiquités était représenté par Mahmoud Ali Ibrahim Tantawi. Nous tenons à remercier tout particulièrement Moussa Abou Rashid et Rabia Barakat pour leur aide dans la localisation de ce nouveau site. Nos remerciements vont aussi aux responsables de l'inspectorat d'Abou Zenima, tout particulièrement Gharib Ali Ibrahim Khalil et Moustafa Resk Ibrahim, qui ont fait tout leur possible pour que cette mission puisse avoir lieu dans les meilleures conditions.

2 La publication finale de l'ensemble de ce matériel est en cours de préparation dans le cadre de la série des mémoires sur la zone minière du Sud-Sinaï publiés à l'IFAO. Une partie de cette documentation a fait l'objet de présentations préliminaires insistant sur son intérêt historique : P. Tallet, D. Laisney, « Iry-Hor et Narmer au Sud-Sinaï (Ouadi 'Ameyra). Un complément à la chronologie des expéditions minières égyptienne », *BIFAO* 112 (2012), 381-398 ; P. Tallet, « Sur la fondation de la ville de Memphis au début de l'histoire pharaonique. De nouvelles données au ouadi 'Ameyra (Sud-Sinaï) », *CRAI* (2012, 2013), sous presse.

3 Pendant longtemps, on a pensé que les premières expéditions dans la région n'étaient pas antérieures au règne de Djoser, le fondateur de la IIIe dynastie (cf. *e.g.* T.A. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (New York, (1999), 165-167). La découverte récente de trois bas-reliefs monumentaux au nom du roi Den, le cinquième roi de la Ire dynastie, avait déjà fait reculer sensiblement la date de la première expédition supposée des Egyptiens dans la région (cf. M.R. Ibrahim, P. Tallet, « Trois bas-reliefs de l'époque thinite au ouadi el-Humur », *RdE* 59 (2009), 155-180 ; P. Tallet, « King Den in South Sinai: the Earliest Monumental Rock Inscriptions of the Pharaonic Period », *Archéonil* 19 (2009), 179-184 ; P. Tallet, *La zone minière du Sud-Sinaï* I. *Catalogue complémentaire des inscriptions du Sinaï*, *MIFAO* 130 (2013), 15-21. Le matériel découvert au ouadi Ameyra pourrait selon nous remonter, pour les inscriptions les plus anciennes du site, à la période Nagada IIIA et être contemporain de la tombe U-j d'Abydos (c. 3250 av. J.-C.) où ont été découverts les plus anciens témoins du système de notation hiéroglyphique.

4 Cette mise en œuvre « agissante » du nom royal semble caractéristique du début de la Ire dynastie ; l'exemple le plus manifeste est celui qui figure sur une étiquette de Narmer récemment découverte dans la nécropole d'Abydos par l'équipe du DAI (cf. G. Dreyer *et al.*, « Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9./10. Vorbericht », *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 139).

5 W.M.F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II (Londres, 1901), pl. X, n°2 ; XI, n°2.

6 *LÄ* IV, 394-395.

7 W.M.F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II* (Londres, 1901), 30-31, pl. XV, n° 109.

8 P. Kaplony, *IÄF* I, 435-437.

9 J. Cervello-Autuori, « *Was King Narmer Menes ?* », *Archéonil* 15, 31-46, sp. 42-43.

10 Sur cette liste, cf. notamment B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilization* (Londres, New York, 1989), 20-22.

11 M. Malaise, J. Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée de l'Egyptien classique* (Liège, 1999), 463-466 ; sur cette écriture du pronom *pw* à l'époque archaïque, cf. J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* I (Wiesbaden, 2002), 149. Ce type de construction grammaticale semble attesté par ailleurs sous ce même règne de Djer, mais dans la construction d'un nom de particulier, non dans un énoncé autonome comme vraisemblablement ici, *cf.* Kaplony, *IÄF* I, 419 (*im3-pw*).

12 P. Vernus, « La naissance de l'écriture dans l'Egypte ancienne », *Archéonil* 3 (1997), 75-108.

13 J. Baines, « Aesthetic Culture and the Emergence of Writing in Egypt during Naqada III », *Archéonil* 20 (2010), 134-149.

14 G. Dreyer, « Umm el-Qaab I. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-jund seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse », *ArchVer* 86 (Mayence, 1998). Sur les signes hiéroglyphiques des premiers temps de l'histoire égyptienne, voir l'étude magistrale de I. Regulski, *A Paleographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt* , *OLA* 195 (2010).

15 British Museum EA 55586 = A.J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum* V. *Early Dynastic Objects* (Londres, 1980), pl. 53, cat. 460.

16 E.g. l'étiquette de Semerkhet, qui est l'objet d'un déchiffrement et d'un commentaire détaillé par les soins de Vernus, *Archéonil* 3, 95 sq.

The Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period

الماريانو في الصحراء الغربية خلال عصر الرعامسة

Mohamed Raafat Abbas*

ملخص

دأبت النصوص الحربية المصرية خلال عصر الدولة الحديثة على ذكر الماريانو كأعداء للجيش المصري. وكان الحديث عن وقوعهم كأسرى في أيدي المصريين يُعد نوعًا من التباهي والتفاخر بتكبيد أعداء مصر من الآسيويين خسائر فادحة بسقوط أمراء العدو وقادته وأبرز محاربيه في أيدي المصريين في القتال، خلال تلك الحقبة التي شهدت قمة التوسع العسكري المصري في منطقة الشرق الأدنى القديم. وقد تجلى ذلك بوضوح في نصوص الأسرة الثامنة عشرة من خلال حوليات الملك تحوتمس الثالث أشهر ملوك مصر المحاربين في حديثه عن حملته الحربية الأولى الشهيرة في مجدو، وكذلك من خلال النصوص المتعلقة بحملات خليفته الملك المحارب أمنحتب الثاني. ولقد أجمعت آراء المؤرخين والباحثين على أن الماريانو هم طبقة من المحاربين الذين تخصصوا وبرعوا في القتال بواسطة العربات الحربية، والذين كونوا طبقة من النبلاء في المدن الكنعانية خلال العصر البرونزي المتأخر أي في النصف الثاني من الألف الثاني قبل الميلاد. وتشير غالبية الآراء التاريخية إلى أنهم كانوا ينحدرون من أصول هندو أوروبية.

ويناقش هذا البحث قضية تاريخية هامة تتعلق بظهور الماريانو كأعداء لمصر في الصحراء الغربية خلال عصر الرعامسة، وعلى وجه التحديد خلال أحداث الحرب الليبية في العام الخامس من حكم الملك مرنبتاح (حوالي ١٢٠٧ ق.م.) رابع ملوك الأسرة التاسعة عشرة، والتي واجهت مصر فيها هجومًا خطيرًا من الليبيين وشعوب البحر من ناحية الصحراء الغربية، وذلك من خلال أحد المصادر التاريخية الهامة المتعلقة بحروب الملك مرنبتاح ضد الليبيين وشعوب البحر، وهي بردية أنستاسي الثانية؛ حيث ذكر الماريانو من ضمن أعداء مصر الذين اشتركوا في هذه الحرب. لكن الأمر المثير للاهتمام والتساؤل هذه المرة هو تواجدهم كأعداء لمصر في الصحراء الغربية للمرة الأولى والأخيرة في تاريخهم، وليس في مناطق سوريا وفلسطين كما اعتادت المصادر المصرية الحديث عنهم دائمًا طوال عصر الدولة الحديثة. ومن ثم فالبحث يناقش من خلال الأدلة النصية المتمثلة في بردية أنستاسي الثانية ومن خلال الآراء التاريخية المختلفة – كيفية ظهور الماريانو كأعداء لمصر في الصحراء الغربية خلال عصر الرعامسة للمرة الأولى والأخيرة في تاريخهم.

The Egyptian military texts of the New Kingdom often highlight the capture of some numbers of *mryn* 'maryannu', which was equivalent to the capture of a high-level military official, whose loss would be greatly felt by the opposing force. For example, we find such historical phenomena in the Annals of King Thutmose III, where we read that after the fall of Megiddo in the first campaign of Thutmose III, the elite Asiatic Maryannu warriors were held prisoners to Egypt.[1] Similarly, we find in the biography of the Egyptian officer 'Amenemhab' important information about the capture of *mryn* 'maryannu' as living prisoners in the campaigns of Thutmose III, during his sixth campaign in Year 30 of his reign,[2] and during his last campaign in Year 42 of his reign.[3] Furthermore, the military texts of King Amenhotep II refer to the capturing of a great number of *mryn* 'maryannu' in his Syrian expeditions.[4]

In *Wb* II term [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] or [hieroglyphs] *mryn* 'maryannu' referred to the elite Syrian warriors.[5] On the other hand, E.A.W. Budge considered that *mryn* 'maryannu' are the captive chiefs.[6] Both A. Badawi and H. Kees agree that *mryn* 'maryannu' are Asiatic princes warriors.[7] R.O. Faulkner, in his *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian,* agrees that *mryn* 'maryannu' means Syrian warrior,[8] and A.H. Gardiner mentioned that the term *mryn* 'maryannu' used to refer to the Asiatic chariot-warrior.[9] Moreover, in his *Dictionary of Late-Egyptian*, L.H. Lesko noted that *mryn* 'maryannu, which was mentioned in some Ramesside texts as [hieroglyphs] in pAnastasi II, [hieroglyphs] in Pap. Harris I, and [hieroglyphs] in the Great Inscription of Sea Peoples campaign of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu, means warrior or knight.[10] E.F. Wente noted from the 'story of the capture of Joppa', which registered on Pap. Harris 500 that the Maryannu warriors, which was mentioned in the story are elite Indo-Aryan chariot warriors associated with the Hurrian movement into Syro-Palestine.[11]

The term Maryannu probably derives from a Sanskrit term for 'young man; hero', and appears to have designated in the Hurrian world an important class of 'knights', paid for their services and given authority over a particular territory, after the feudal fashion.[12] R.T. O'Callaghan published a survey of what was then known about the Maryannu and of the various opinions regarding this social class. He agreed with the conclusions of previous scholars that this class was of Indo-Aryan origin. He mentioned that the term Maryannu (Egyptian mryn) is to be understood primarily as 'a noble man; a chariot warrior of a high status', according to sources from the second half of the second millennium BCE relating to the Syro-Palestinian region. O'Callaghan maintains that the Maryannu had lived in an area from the Kingdom of Mitanni in north to south Palestine, in the cities of Lachish and Ascalon, from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-twelfth centuries BCE. He also points out the connection between the Maryannu and the use of harnessed horses with warfare chariots, which first became widespread in the Syro-Palestinian region in the third century of the second millennium.[13]

According to the accepted view, the Maryannu were a class of warriors whose expertise in handling chariots and caring for horses were an ancestral tradition which made them the nobility or the aristocracy of the Canaanite societies during the Late Bronze Age. They owned estates on the countryside and dominated the society of the rural towns. Membership in this nobility could be secured through inheritance, although the king could also promote favored lackeys to the Maryannu rank. The privileges and advantages enjoyed by this class and their role were rewards for their ability to use chariots in battles, which had been previously unknown in this area. The military heritage and social distinction of this class are strongly emphasized in Egyptian and Hittite sources.[14]

In the fifth year of Merenptah's reign (about 1207 BCE), Egypt was faced with threats from the Western Desert[15], and was attacked by a coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples at the border of the western Delta. These events are described in four texts: The Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah, the Cairo Column, the Athribis Stela, and the Hymn of Victory, otherwise known as the Victory Stela of Merenptah (or Israel stela) at Cairo Museum. According to these texts, King Meryey, the son of Dedy of the Libyans, formed a coalition with several groups of the Sea Peoples (Sherden, Teresh, Shekelesh, Ekwesh and Lukka), and they pushed forward into the Delta. As soon as Merenptah discovered what was happening, he mounted a military campaign against the invaders and defeated them after six hours of fighting, at the border of the western Delta.[16]

pAnastasi II, dating to the reign of Merenptah, is one of the important historical sources of Merenptah's war against the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples in the 5th year of his reign. The Maryannu were mentioned in a section of this papyrus as:

mšʿ nḫt iw ḥbnw.f m nḫt ḥr wsr ḫ3ʿ.sn ḫt r ʾIsdrktyw d̠3f.sn mryn n3 šrdn ini.k ḥr ḫpš.k ḥ3kw.sn mhwt ḫ3swt

The victorious army came after he has triumphed, in victory and power. It has set fire to Isderektiu and burnt the Meryna (maryannu). The Sherden whom thou hast taken by your strong arm have plundered the tribes of foreign lands.[17]

It is noticeable in the text that the Sherden have plundered the tribes of foreign lands. Sherden are one of the Sea Peoples whose name has probably survived in the name 'Sardinia'. They were first mentioned in the Amarna letters, where Sherden are mentioned as belonging to an Egyptian garrison at Byblos.[18] Undoubtedly, the Sherden here were fighting as part in the Egyptian Army. A.H. Gardiner mentioned that the Sherden was a contingent of the Egyptian Army in this section of pAnastasi II.[19] Sherden raiders had attacked the Nile Delta some time before Ramesses II's northern campaign. A very fragmentary inscription on a stela from Tanis describes 'Sherden, rebellious of heart ... [and their] battleships in the midst of the sea'. Ramesses 'destroyed warriors of the Great Green [the Mediterranean], and Lower Egypt spends the night sleeping peacefully'. After the attack of Sherden on Egypt, they were captured and were enforced into the Egyptian Army and became one of the best troops employed by the Egyptians.[20] In pAnastasi I, at the beginning of Ramesses II's poetical account of his campaign against the Hittites, he recounts how 'he made ready his army, his chariotry and the Sherden whom his Majesty had captured'; here the exclusive mention of these foreign people shows the important part they already played in the Egyptian army.[21] In another section of pAnastasi II, the Sherden were mentioned as captives of Merenptah as the following:

šrdn ḥr w3d̠-wr nty m ḥ3kw ḥm.f ʿnḫ wd̠3 snb

'Sherden of the Great green (i.e. the Mediterranean) who are captives of his majesty, l.p.h.'.[22]

F.J. Yurco assumed that Merenptah may have impressed Sea Peoples captures in his Libyan war of Year 5 against the Libyans and the Sea Peoples.[23] Moreover, J.H. Breasted thinks that the Sherden have been sent as Egyptian mercenaries against the tribes of the Desert.[24] It is not surprising to find the Sherden in Merenptah's war fighting both for and against Egypt. The mercenary and adventurer acts as a spy for his free relatives.[25]

Accordingly, the Maryannu was one of the enemies of Egypt during the invasion of Libyan tribes, dominated by the Libu, allied with groups of the Sea Peoples, in the Fifth Year of Merenptah's reign (about 1207 BCE). This provides us with an indication of the presence of the Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period, for the only time in their history. They appeared as enemies of Egypt, as usual as we found them in the Egyptian military texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Furthermore, we have another textual evidence from the Hymn of Victory of Merenptah. We read that 'the wretched, fallen chief of Libya, fled by favor of night alone, with no plume upon his head, his two feet [failed]. His women were taken before his face, the grain of his supplies was plundered, and he had no water in the skin to keep him alive. The face of his brothers was hostile to slay him, one fought another among his leaders. Their camp was burned and made a roast, all his possessions were food for the troops'.[26] I think that what is mentioned in the previous text about the burning of the Libyan camp is in concurrence with what is mentioned in pAnastasi II as 'The victorious army has come after he has triumphed, in victory and power. It has set fire to Isderektiu,[27] and burnt the Meryna (maryannu)'. This gives us another indication that both of Isderektiu and Maryannu were enemies to Egypt in the Libyan war of Merenptah, and emphasizes the presence of the Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period.

The question here is: How did the *mryn* 'maryannu' fight against Egypt for the first time of their history in the Western Desert of Egypt, and not in Asia as usual when we found them in the Egyptian military texts of the New Kingdom? Additionally, we have to enquire, how did the *mryn* 'maryannu' travel from Asia to the Western Desert?

The groups of the Sea Peoples involved in the Libyan war of Merenptah were the Sherden, Teresh, Shekelesh, Ekwesh and Lukka. The majority of the force were, however, Libyans; and the Sea Peoples were less than one-third of the total number. In this instance, it seems most likely that the Libyans were the prime movers, accompanied by the other groups as mercenaries.[28] Some scholars observed from the records of the Libyan war of Merenptah that the casualties of the Sea Peoples groups are relatively small, compared with the Libyan casualties. This suggests that the Sea Peoples are, in this case, mercenary troops.[29] Therefore, I think that the Maryannu warriors, who fought with the Libyans against the Egyptians in the Western Desert during the Libyan war of Merenptah, were mercenaries like the Sea Peoples groups. N.K. Sandars thinks that the Maryannu were superior to the usual type of mercenary.[30] The term 'mercenary' is a vague one, since in the later second millennium BCE it can cover a variety of classes from the aristocratic Maryannu, barely distinguishable from feudal vassals, down to unruly groups of nomads.[31] This is the answer to the first question.

On the other hand, it is known historically that the Sea Peoples groups started a migration around and across the Mediterranean Sea over a period of at least fifty years in the later twelfth and early eleventh centuries BCE. This was accompanied by widespread destruction of individual settlements and the collapse of wider political entities from Greece to the Levant.[32] Therefore, I think that there is a great probability that some of the Maryannu warriors emigrated with some groups of the Sea Peoples from the Levant to North Africa throughout the Mediterranean Sea. Afterwards, all of these groups were mercenaries for the Libyans in their invasion on Egypt, in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign.

Conclusion

pAnastasi II proved the existence of the Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period, for the only time in their history. The Maryannu was one of the enemies of Egypt during the invasion of the Libyan tribes, dominated by the Libu, allied with groups of the Sea Peoples. It seems that the Maryannu warriors who fought with the Libyans against the Egyptians in the Western Desert during the Libyan war of Merenptah were mercenaries like the Sea Peoples groups, and there is a great probability that some of the Maryannu warriors emigrated with some groups of the Sea Peoples from the Levant to North Africa across the Mediterranean Sea. Afterwards all of these groups were mercenaries for the Libyans in their invasion on Egypt, in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign.

Notes

* PhD of Egyptology, the Ministry of Antiquities.

1 *Urk.* IV, 665, 9; B*AR*, II, §. 436; Cf., A.J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2005), 95.

2 *Urk.* IV, 892; B*AR*, II, §. 585.

3 *Urk.* IV, 894-895; B*AR*, II, §. 590.

4 *Urk.* IV, 1303-1311; Cf. A.M. Badawi, 'Die Neue Historische Stele - Amenophis II', *ASAE* 42 (1943), 123.

5 *Wb* II, 110.

6 E.A.W. Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, vol. I (London, 1920), 315.

7 A. Badawi, H. Kees, *Handwoerterbuch Der Agyptischen Sprache* (Cairo and Staatsdruckerei, 1958), 102.

8 R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1988), 112.

9 A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. I (Oxford, 1947), 190.

10 L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. I (Providence, 2002), 194; Cf., A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), 15; W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I, Hieroglyphische Transkription* (Brussels, 1933), 31, 8; K*RI*, V, 40, 7.

11 E.F. Wente, 'The Capture of Joppa', in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), 73; Cf., A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932), 82-85.

12 A.F. Rainey, 'The Military Personnel of Ugarit', *JNES* 24 (1965), 19-21; P. Raulwing, 'Horses, Chariots and Indo-Europeans', *Budapest: Archaeolingua* (2000), 35-36, 117-118.

13 R.T. O'Callaghan, 'New Light on the Maryannu as Chariot Warrior', *JKF* 1 (1951), 309-324.

14 H. Reviv, 'Some Comments on the Maryannu', *IEJ* 22 (1972), 219; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Cannan and Israel in Ancient Times* (New Jersey, 1992), 193-195.

15 Western Desert: At the eastern end of the great Sahara is the dry region known as the Western Desert by the ancient Egyptians. With an area of some 680,000 kilometers, the Western Desert covered about two-thirds of Egypt's land mass. It extended from the Nile Valley's agricultural strip west to the frontier between Egypt and Libya, and from just south of the Mediterranean littoral southward to the Sudan-Egypt frontier.

See: A.J. Mills, 'Western Desert', in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 2001), 497.

16 B*AR*, III, §§. 569-617; K*RI*, IV, 2-23; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 235-237; A.R. Schulman, 'The Great Historical Inscription of Merenptah at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal', *JARCE* 24 (1987), 27-34; N.K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 B.C.* (London, 1985), 105 f.

17 Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 14-15; R.A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 44-45.

18 Gardiner, *AEO* I, 194.

19 Gardiner, *AEO* I, 194.

20 F.J. Yurco, 'Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign', *JARCE* 23 (1986), 215; K.A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant, The Life and times of Ramesses II King of Egypt* (Warminster, 1982), 40-41; Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 BC*, 50.

21 Gardiner, *AEO* I, 194-195.

22 Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 20; Cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 194.

23 Yurco, *JARCE* 23, 215, n. 71.

24 B*AR*, III, 210, n. c.

25 Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 B.C.*, 106.

26 B*AR*, III, §. 610.

27 Caminos mentioned that Isderektiu probably mentioned only here in the Egyptian texts. Despite the lack of a human determinative, he thought that Meryna (maryannu) is like Sherden which follows, not a place name but an ethnical name. Hence, I think despite the lack of a human determinative, that Isderektiu is also an ethnical name for a group of people which attacked Egypt with the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples at the border of the western Delta, in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign. See: Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 46.

28 R.G. Morkot, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Warfare* (Oxford, 2003), 205.

29 Morkot, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Warfare*, 127, 142.

30 Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 B.C.*, 38.

31 Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 B.C.*, 50.

32 A. Leahy, 'Sea Peoples', in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 2001), 257.

Présentation du manuscrit *'Aqd al-Gawhar* ou *Le Collier de perles*

عرض لمخطوط عقد الجوهر (قلادة من الخرز)

Youhanna Nessim Youssef*

ملخص

في هذه المقالة نقدم عرضًا موجزًا عن المخطوط وناسخه ثم نقدم نصًّا من هذا المخطوط؛ وهو أعجوبة منسوبة للسيد المسيح في لغاتها الأصلية بدون تدخل بالتصليح إلا في الهوامش مع ترجمة فرنسية للنص، ثم تعليق على النص؛ حيث نحاول أن نجد العلاقة بين هذا النص وقصة العنقاء (الفينكس) التي وردت في كتاب الفسيولوجوس، وهذا الطائر ممثل في الفن القبطي. ونستخلص أن هذا الكتاب وإن كُتب باللغة العربية فإن له أصولاً قديمة.

Dans son livre monumental sur l'histoire de la littérature arabe, G. Graf n'a pas inclus cet ouvrage,[1] qui est une interprétation rimée et rythmée de quelques extraits des Evangiles. Les sujets choisis viennent des quatre Evangiles canoniques, mais également des apocryphes. Nous avons démontré dans notre étude sur la fuite de la Sainte Famille en Egypte que l'auteur de ce texte s'est référé à une tradition très ancienne mentionnant seulement deux sites en Egypte, à savoir, Memphis et Ašmûnayn. Nous n'y trouvons pas les autres lieux tels que le monastère de Muharraq, Dayr Gebel al-Tayr et autres.

Nous pouvons noter les homéotéleutes (سجع) dans tout le texte qui permettent d'affirmer que ce livre fut originalement rédigé en langue arabe.

Manuscrit

Ce manuscrit fait partie de la collection de l'église de la Vierge Marie à Bani Soueif.

Le scribe a écrit une note après chaque chapitre.

Fol. 31r

'اذكروا حقارت[٢] الناسخ منصور بالاسم شماس ومن قال شيا له اضعاف
في ملكوت السموات ومن وجد غلطة واصلحها يصلح الرب شانه لان
ناقله عاجز خاطي'

Souvenez-vous de l'humilité du scribe, Mansûr, qui est un diacre par nom, et celui qui dit quelque chose aura autant au royaume des cieux. Celui qui trouve une faute et la corrige, le Seigneur améliorera[3] sa situation parce que son copiste est un incapable pécheur.

Fol. 129v

'كمل الباب الثاني بعون الله تعالى يوم السبت الثامن والعشرين من شهر بابة
المبارك سنة ١٤٥٧ قبطية بسلام من الرب امين امين'

Le deuxième chapitre a été terminé, avec l'aide de Dieu, qu'Il soit élevé, le samedi 28 du mois béni de Bâbah de l'année copte 1457 (1741 apr. J.-C.) dans la paix du Seigneur. Amen, Amen !

Fol. 146v

'كمل الباب الثالثة في يوم السبت الثامن من شهر امشير المبارك سنة ١٤٥٧
قبطية وتعال الله ان يسهل بنسخه بسلام من الرب امين امين امين'

Le troisième chapitre a été terminé le samedi 8 du mois béni d'Amšir de l'année copte 1457 (1741 apr. J.-C.). Que le Sublime Dieu facilite sa copie, dans la Paix du Seigneur. Amen, Amen, Amen !

Fol. 214r

'كمل الباب الرابع بسلام من الرب الاله امين في يوم السبت المبارك الثاني
لعشرين من شهر مسرى المبارك ولربنا المجد دايما وعلينا رحمته امين

ايها القاري بالحب الروحاني اذكر حقارت عبدك الناقل الى هذا المصحف
الشريف ومن وجد غلطة واصلحها فليصلح الرب شانه ومن قال شيا فله
امثاله عوص الواحد ثلاثون وستون ومایة'

Le quatrième chapitre a été terminé le samedi béni, le 22 du mois béni de Misrâ, dans la paix du Seigneur Dieu. Amen ! Gloire à notre Seigneur éternellement et que Sa miséricorde soit sur nous. Amen !

Fol. 357r

'كمل الباب الخامس في يوم السبت المبارك غرة ابيب المبارك سنة ١٤٥٨
قبطية بسلام من الرب امين

يالله يا غافر الذنب العظيم اغفر لقاريها وناقلها وسامعها برحمتك يا ارحم
الراحمين امين'

Le cinquième chapitre a été terminé le jour du samedi béni, le premier jour du mois d'Abîb de l'année copte 1458 (1742 apr. J.-C.), dans la paix du Seigneur. Amen !

Ô Dieu, qui pardonne le grand péché du lecteur, du copiste et de celui qui écoute par Ta miséricorde, car Tu es le plus compatissant des compatissants. Amen !

Dernier folio

'تم وكمل كتاب بعون الله تعالي في يوم الثلاث المبارك ثامن عشر بابه
المبارك سنة الف واربعماية ثمانية وخمسين للشهدا الاطهار السعدا الابرار
بشفاعتهم وبركتهم يكون معنا الى الابد سنة امين

ايها القاري بالحب الروحاني اذكر حقارت[٤] الكاتب لهذا الكتاب المبارك و لم يكون تحصل عندك غم من بسالة خطه فاصلح الذي تجده مفسود فان ناقله متعلم لا معلم وجاهل بالنساخة فمن وجد غلطة واصلحها فليصلح الرب شانه من قال شيا فله امثاله والسبح لله دايما[٥]

Ainsi le livre fut terminé avec l'aide de Dieu, qu'Il soit élevé, le jour béni du mardi 18 du mois béni de Bâbah 1458 des purs martyrs, les heureux justes, que leurs intercessions et leurs bénédictions soient avec nous à jamais. Amen !

Ô lecteur, par la charité spirituelle souviens-toi de l'insignifiance du copiste de ce livre béni. (Espérant) que tu ne sois pas déçu de la qualité de l'écriture et corrige ce que tu trouves de mauvais, car son scribe est un élève et non un maître, il est ignorant (de l'art) de la calligraphie. Celui qui trouve une faute et la corrige, que le Seigneur améliore[5] ses affaires. Celui qui dit quelque chose aura autant. Louanges à Dieu éternellement.

Nous donnons ci-dessous un texte narrant un miracle qui ne figure pas dans les Evangiles canoniques.

Texte

عجوبت[٦] الديك المصلوق[٧] حين امره بالكلام ونطق على السماط
فقدموا له ديك مصلوق في السماط في انا ذهب: فقال المسيح
للديك انطق مثل القراية في الكتب: واخبر صاحب هذا المكان
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الديك لما طلب: وصاح باللسان ناطق يقول انت المسيح:
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عليك ترا:[٢٢] فقال له المسيح كون امنا كيف اخاف وابي ينظرا[٢٣]

Traduction

Miracle du coq bouilli où il lui a ordonné de parler et il (le coq) a prononcé (des paroles) sur la nappe.

On lui a offert un coq bouilli dans une nappe et un récipient en or.

Et le Christ dit au coq : « Parle[24] comme celui qui lit dans les livres et informe par miracle le propriétaire de ce lieu à propos de sa femme car dans sa maison il y a une grande impiété ».

Le coq répondit à la requête et parla en langue, doué de la parole, disant : « Tu es le Christ qui connaît les suspicions et rien ne t'est caché à propos de ce monde. Cela sera promptement manifesté et Tu sais que la femme d'Autibisqûn est une idolâtre et n'adore pas Dieu comme les adorateurs. Voici qu'elle a une idole en or, semblable à un oiseau, placée dans une caisse avec ses vêtements somptueux et l'idole en est couverte et elle l'adore en cachette de son mari. Ô Seigneur, délivre-moi ! ».

Et le coq (disait) ce discours et la femme entendit ses paroles. La femme a eu extrêmement peur quand son cas fut révélé en ce qui concerne les coqs.

Elle sortit vers le Christ et lui dit : « Tu es le roi des rois. Pardonne-moi, mon Dieu et fais de moi un parmi Tes fils et fais de ce jour le premier de ma vie et conduis-moi dans Tes chemins de conduite ».

Elle se prosterna à terre en pleurant. Et Il lui dit : « Lève-toi. Et si tu persistes en ceci, tu persisteras à jamais. Nous avons pardonné tes péchés, jeûne désormais et tu séjourneras dans la béatitude et tu auras ce que tu veux ».

Elle est rapidement partie à son palais et a amené l'idole en or et la totalité de ses parures en orfèvrerie et autres (choses). Elle la pourfendit en (leur) présence et elle dit : « Je donne ces choses en aumône pour les fautes et j'ai eu de Toi miséricorde ».

Elle cracha sur l'idole et elle se renversa. Elle dit : « Malheur à Toi, ô démon, et malheur à celui qui a une idole chez lui, car il est contre lui-même comme un pécheur et il est injuste contre lui-même. S'il a de l'or ou autre chose, il abandonne son Seigneur dans ce qu'Il a commandé ». Le Christ après cela a fait venir du feu brûlant et y a jeté l'idole et, sur le champ, elle est devenue un beau lingot. Il l'a donné pour que l'homme l'emporte et Il lui a dit : « Garde ceci dans le pays jusqu'à ce que la femme aille au Jourdain pour (recevoir) le baptême de la main de Jean afin que vous deveniez sains (et) sans corruption.

Et il dit : « Qu'est-ce que je crée avec l'or porté ? ».

Et Il (le Christ) lui dit : « donne-le à un orfèvre qui connaît toute représentation pour qu'il en fasse une coupe et écrive sur elle Mon nom et le nom de Mon Père au complet ».

Puis Il dit au coq : « Je t'accorde deux longues ailes semblables aux ailes du paon pour que tu voles au moyen d'elles vers le ciel. Et nul (homme) ne pourra t'attraper jusqu'à l'accomplissement de mille ans ».

A l'instant, le coq se leva de la table et s'envola comme le Christ lui a indiqué et ceux qui étaient présents regardaient et il (le coq) volait, disant : « Crois au Fils de Dieu qui vient en vérité aux hommes ».

Et Il (le Christ) dit au maître de la maison : « Fais un effort et va chez Jean et réfléchis. Il (Jean) vous baptisera et vous deviendrez croyants et, lors de ma visite, je vous informerai de la (bonne) nouvelle. Donne en aumône ce que tu trouves aux pauvres ».

Et Il leur donna la paix et se leva. Il parut à Joseph et Marie et les informa de ce qui s'était passé. Joseph se mit extrêmement en colère contre Lui et Lui dit : « Combien de fois T'ai-je dit de ne pas (Te) révéler devant ce peuple injuste car je suis anxieux pour Toi, vois-Tu ? ».

Le Christ lui dit : « Sois en paix, comment aurais-Je peur et Mon Père (Me) voit ».

Commentaire

Le mot coq n'est attesté par Saint Athanase que dans l'interprétation de Matthieu 26 : 34.

L'histoire d'un oiseau qui brûle et revient en vie n'est qu'une christianisation[25] du phénix de l'ancienne Egypte. Parmi les textes concernant le *Physiologus,*[26] il y en a un qui est particulièrement intéressant :[27]

ϩⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩϫⲡⲟ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲙ ⲃⲏⲑⲗⲉⲉⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩϩⲱⲧⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲑⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲝ ⲣⲟⲕϩϥ̄ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ ϩⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲑ̄ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲉϩ ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲓⲛ ⲧⲁ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϫⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲥϫⲓⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ϩⲱⲥ ϣⲣ̄ⲡ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϣⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ.

En l'année donc que Dieu naquit à Bethléem, et le jour dans lequel le prêtre Zacharie fut tué et Siméon fut mis à sa place, le phénix se brûla de lui-même sur l'aile du temple à Jérusalem. Le huitième jour depuis que la Vierge eut mis notre Sauveur au monde, elle le mena avec Joseph au temple en vue d'offrir un sacrifice pour lui, en tant que premier-né. On appela son nom : Jésus. Depuis ce moment-là, on ne revit plus cet oiseau jusqu'au jour d'aujourd'hui.

Nous trouvons donc quelques ressemblances avec notre texte :

Les deux mettent en rapport l'Enfant Jésus avec le phénix, mais dans *Le Collier de perles* Jésus est jeune.

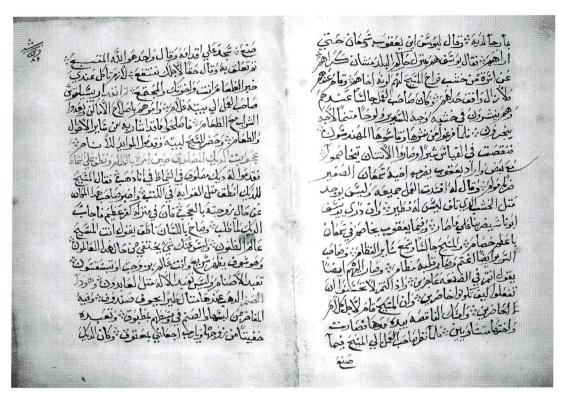
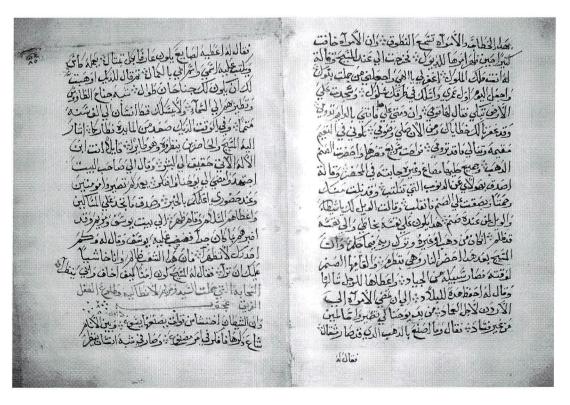
Le nom de l'oiseau dans le texte copte est le phénix, tandis que dans le miracle arabe c'est un coq.

Il est à noter que le phénix est assez fréquent dans l'art copte, ainsi que l'a bien noté Pierre du Bourguet : « Le paon qui est dépeint dans la chapelle 18 a hérité le phénix de l'époque pharaonique qui symbolise l'éternité ».[28] Or notre coq a hérité les ailes du paon et la promesse d'éternité (vivre mille ans).

Notons avant de terminer que le scribe a copié à partir d'un autre texte plus ancien et a dès lors commis plusieurs fautes d'orthographe.

Conclusion

Bien que *Le Collier de perles* soit un manuscrit récent, il renferme des traditions très anciennes ancrées dans la mentalité égyptienne. Ce texte a été directement rédigé en arabe, et il doit donc dater de l'époque où les Coptes maîtrisaient cette langue – après le XI[e] ou le XII[e] siècle.

La publication du texte intégral permettra de souligner plusieurs influences de l'Egypte ancienne, des apocryphes et de l'Islam.

(Fig. 1) Photo du manuscrit traitant de l'épisode.

(Fig. 2) Photo du colophon.

Notes

* Université Catholique Australienne, Melbourne.

1 G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen literatur* (Cittä del Vaticano, 1944).

2 Lire (حقارة).

3 Litt. « corrigera ».

4 Lire (حقارة).

5 Litt. « corrige ».

6 Lire (أعجوبة).

7 Lire (المسلوق).

8 Lire (زوجة).

9 Lire (خفية).

10 Lire (قالت).

11 Lire (جملة).

12 Lire (سريعًا).

13 Lire (قالت).

14 Lire (أتصدق).

15 Lire (رحمة).

16 La dernière lettre est à l'envers car c'est le nom de Satan.

17 Lire (إن كان).

18 Lire (بتضرم).

19 Lire (حقيقا).

20 Lire (تصدق).

21 Lire (تظهر).

22 Lire (ترى).

23 Lire (ينظر).

24 Litt. « prononce ».

25 Voir Y.N. Youssef, « Autres exemples, de la christianisation des fêtes de l'ancienne Egypte », *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 38 (1999), 157-160. Y.N. Youssef, « De nouveau, la christianisation des dates des fêtes de l'ancienne religion égyptienne », *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 31 (1992), 109-113 ; Y.N. Youssef, « La christianisation des fêtes osiriaques », *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 29 (1990), 147-153.

26 Pour ce livre cf. C.D. Müller, « Physiologos », in: A.S. Atiya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 6 (New York, 1991), 1965-1966; R. Kuhner, « Physiologus », in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse, (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Roma, 1985), 135-147; U. Treu, « Amos VII, 14, Schenute und der Physiologus », *Novum Testamentum* 10 (1969), 234-40; Y.N. Youssef, « Quelques allusions au Physiologus », *Göttinger Miszellen* 135 (1993), 53-58.

27 A. van Lantschoot, « Propos du Physiologus », *Coptic Studies in honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston, 1950), 339-363 et en particulier 355-357.

28 P. du Bourguet, « Bawit », in Atiya (ed.), *Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, 362-372.

Book Review

Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt

Essam Elsaeed

Book Title:	**Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt**
Author:	John Baines
Publisher:	Oxford: University Press
Year of Publication:	2007
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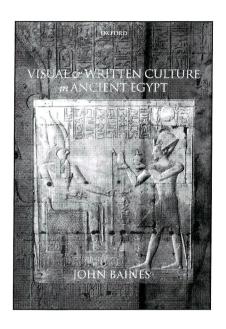
No. of Pages:	420
Book Size:	16 x 24 cm

Over the past three decades, John Baines, Emeritus Professor of Egyptology at Oxford University has published numerous fundamental studies on Egyptian cultural literacy, a field that Egyptologists paid very little attention to prior to his significant contributions. In the book under review, Baines compiles eleven of his heretofore published essays alongside chapters from several journals and monographs, together with three other hitherto unpublished ones written specifically for this volume. These include 'Orality and Literacy', of which an abridged version will appear in The Oxford Handbook for Egyptology. Nevertheless, all chapters have been revised to a certain extent, and substantial bibliographic data has been added at the end.

In general, these essays are on two separate but interrelated subjects, writing and art. In his preface, Baines expounds that these works have not only been compiled together for ease of access, but also to highlight intellectual connections between the various topics discussed in them. The whole book is a good source for cross-cultural treatment of several issues and phenomena he discusses, and it presents for Egyptologists a 'broader theoretical and interpretive framework', which he masterly delineates throughout the entire book.

As pointed out above, this book is divided into two major parts: 'Written Culture' and 'The Visual Culture'. These are preceded by a prologue entitled 'Visual, written, decorum.' Baines outlines in this

introductory essay (pp. 3–30), his overall conceptual background for studying the uses of the two representational modes of 1) image depiction, and 2) writing and the connection between them within the social context where they emerged from. Artistic productions and writing which should not be separated, according to Baines, were very critical devices used to convey information and knowledge, and were of great importance in organizing State administrative activities. Therefore they were an effective tool for the elite who had more interest in appropriating privileged matters rather than disseminating them. Baines questions how far writing was used beyond the small core of the elite, as most cultural materials are from the prestigious contexts of royal burials and the arrangements surrounding them, at least from the early stage of Egyptian history. We hope the ongoing excavations in several sites in Egypt, more specifically in Abydos, may in the future answer this question.

In the last part of this interesting and brilliant introduction, Baines reviews 'decorum', a term he first introduced to Egyptology in 1976, and it is not a coincidence the Essays presented in his honor in December, appeared under his favorite terms 'Decorum and experience'. Decorum, which can be traced back to Late Predynastic times, was a set of rules which constituted 'what maybe represented pictorially with captions, display, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form' (p. 15). Decorum was not a fixed canon, but slightly changed over time. Baines argues that change or development of any phenomena (such as the increase of representing individuals in direct contact with deities as demonstrated on private stelae of Late New Kingdom), should not only be considered as a change of religious values, but it is more plausible to interpret the new forms as at least in part as exhibiting a change in decorum and rules of display as well.

The first part of this book, 'Written Culture' is a revised edition of 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', 'Four Notes on Literacy' (originally co-authored with Chris Eyre), 'Literacy, Social Organization and the Archaeological Record: The Case of Early Egypt', 'Writing and Society of Early Egypt', and 'Orality and Literacy.' In these articles (Chapters 2–6), Baines provides documentary and quantitative evidence from all historical periods of Ancient Egypt for the theory about the nature and extent of ancient Egyptian literacy, with a few updated texts and references. He argues writing, which arose from an oral context, and had its primary meaning within that context, was developed by a core of the elite for administration and self-presentation purposes. Nevertheless, the spread of uses of writing in Egypt were very slow, and its spread is not a significant indicator of the distinctions between literate societies. He states that only one percent of the Egyptian society were literate, which ranges from 10,000 in the Old Kingdom to 50,000 in Greco-Roman period. Baines and Eyre based their calculation on numbers of elite tombs in the Memphite necropolis during the Old Kingdom, including representations of scribes found in the tombs, and figures Karl Butzer represents in his book Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology (Chicago, 1976). This percentage was criticized by Jan Janseen in his article 'Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina', in R.J. Demaree and Arno Egberts (eds.) Village

Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medina and their Interpretation', Leiden: CNWS Publications, 1992, pp. 81-94.' Janssen points out that there are other groups of written materials that should be considered before calculating the literate segment, such as notes, communication between women in the villages, and men working in the royal tomb. He correctly argues it is more plausible to think of different levels of literacy at that community ranging from basic ability of reading to composing highly literary texts, thus he proposes that 30 percent of the entire community of Deir el-Medina were literate. In return, Baines in this book acknowledges Janssen's point of view, but does not agree with him about the percentage. Baines argues at Deir el-Medina, far more people were called scribe than were ever officially employed as scribes, and the 'title' scribe was often an abbreviated form for 'draughtsman', literary 'outline scribe'; therefore arguing titles do not seem to make a sharp distinction between writing and drawing.

Chapter 6: 'Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past', is the last reprinted essay in this section which reviews the ancient Egyptian notion of time and eternity. Following this Baines lists at length evidence demonstrating ancient Egyptian attitudes toward the past, illustrated in pictorial and textual sources from the Third Dynasty down to Ramesside period.

Part two on 'Visual Culture' begins with a short 'Introductory Note' followed by 'Theories and Universal of Representation: Heinrich Schafer and Egypt Art' (Chap. 9); and 'Schafer's Mottoes and the Understanding of Representation', (Chap. 10). Both are reprinted from earlier publications, as is the rest of this part, but with updated notes and bibliography. Baines re-introduces the theory of Heinrich Schafer, an eminent German art historian, which is still vital to modern scholars in reading non-perspective art and has evolutionary and cognitive implications for a better understanding and classification of the representational system.

'Colour Terminology and Colour Classification: Ancient Egyptian Colour Terminology and Polychromy', with a postscript (Chap. 11), and 'Stone and other Materials: Usage and Values', (Chap. 12) discusses Egyptian terminology which is attested in Egyptian sources as an organizing principle from the mid-third millennium BCE to the Middle Ages, alongside colour uses in relation to the theory of Brent Berlin and Paul Kay, which is represented in their leading study, Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution (Berkeley, 1991). Baines adds a development of colours in paint demonstrates an enormous and prestigious investment and must have had very strong cultural motivations. He analyses the role of stone together with artificial materials as a single complex in the elaboration and display of Egyptian high culture.

Chapter 13 on 'Communication and Display: The Integration of Early Egyptian Art and Writing' is a different approach of studying the system of representation and writing during the Predynastic Period compared to his other article in this volume entitled 'Writing and Society in Early Egypt'. In the former he focuses more on the development of compositional and iconographic norms, such as palettes and the mace head of Narmer which had a symbolic meaning, therefore not only recording an

historical event, but also being used to enforce the role of the King in dominating the ordered world in the name of Gods that defeated external disorder.

This meaning is displayed in variant forms and compositions from the formative period of Egyptian State down to the Greco-Roman period.

The final study 'On the Status and Purposes of Ancient Egyptian Art' (Chap. 14), first discusses the notion of art, and if the ancient Egyptians had a term that could be linguistically rendered as 'Art'. Baines then explores the social significance of aesthetic display, and assures us that artistic productions and architecture in Ancient Egypt, as in any other complex societies, were of and for the elite, who had the ability to commission works or receive them as largesse, and could in principle read what was written on them. For most of the period of Egyptian history, non-elite daily activities were unlikely to have included much that was artistic, except amongst those who made artistic products or served the elite.

This book is an unusual full treatment of several aspects of Egyptian culture in a single handsome monograph by an unusual scholar. It possesses valuable sources for any reader interested in understanding the development of the history of ancient Egyptian representational modes. Its mastery of the ancient sources and its careful presentation of current scholarship make it an important addition, specifically to the ever growing body of studies on ancient Egyptian writing.

الهيئة الاستشارية

الهيئة الاستشارية

العــدد الثامن - ٢٠١٣

أبجديات